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**THE
CONSTRUCTIVE
QUARTERLY**

**A JOURNAL OF THE FAITH, WORK
AND THOUGHT OF CHRISTENDOM**

Edited by Silas McBee

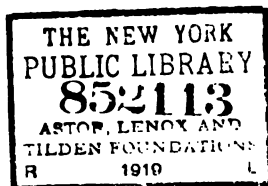
**VOLUME VI
MARCH TO DECEMBER, 1918**

June



**NEW YORK
GEORGE H. DORAN COMPANY**

**LONDON
HUMPHREY MILFORD, OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
1918**



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A Journal of the Faith, Work and Thought of Christendom

THE CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY is issued in March, June, September and December of each year.

ALL EDITORIAL COMMUNICATIONS should be addressed to Silas McBee, Editor, **THE CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY**, 244 Madison Avenue, New York.

ALL BUSINESS COMMUNICATIONS should be addressed to the publisher, George H. Doran Company, 244 Madison Avenue, New York.

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THIS JOURNAL has been founded on the conviction that a constructive treatment of Christianity will make for a better understanding between the isolated Communion of Christendom. The destructive method has had its full opportunity and will continue to have it and ought to have it. But it has developed no power to unite and it is most effective in promoting division.

It is not neutral territory that is sought, where courtesy and diplomacy would naturally tend to avoid issues and to round off the sharp edges of truth and conviction, but rather common ground where loyalty to Christ and to convictions about Him and His Church will be secure from the tendency to mere compromise or to superficial and artificial comprehension. The purpose is to create an atmosphere of mutual confidence and to induce a better understanding and a truer sense of fellowship.

This journal is and must be unofficial. The Churches are not and in the nature of things cannot make themselves responsible for it. It will be responsible for the kind of writers admitted to its pages, but the writers alone will be responsible for what appears over their own names.

Two conditions are imposed: First, that the Faith and Work and Thought of each Communion shall be presented in its absolute integrity including and not avoiding differences; and second, that no attack with polemical animus shall be made on others.

THE CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY recognizes the need that is finding expression in every organized Christian Church—the need of the impact of the whole of Christianity on the race. It has no scheme for propagating a system for the unity of Christian Churches. It will therefore have no editorial pronouncements. It offers itself rather as a Forum where the isolated Churches of Christendom may reintroduce themselves to one another through the things that they themselves positively hold to be vital to Christianity.

THE CONSTRUCTIVE invites the free, living and deliberate statement of actual, operative belief.

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The Catholic Church in the Light of Two Recent Works

By PÈRE M. J. LAGRANGE.

Mgr. d'Hulst has recalled the picturesque comparison of Augustin Thierry, the great historian, on returning to Catholicism: "Between Christianity seen from without and Christianity from within there is the same difference as between the beautiful stained glass windows of a cathedral regarded from the one side or the other. Without they appear like grayish patches separated by leads, within they are wonderful forms flooded with light."

Everyone knows that information about a community can really be best obtained from those who form a part of the community, or at least from those who have studied it deeply.

The readers of THE CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY, at least those of them who wish to know what Catholics think of the Church, will doubtless permit me to mention two recent works which are, each in its own way, highly representative of this tendency, and which combine the

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traditional spirit with a broad sympathy for movements of thought, showing a constant anxiety to take into consideration the work of scholars. In the same spirit, which should certainly be appreciated in America, I present them to my readers, resolving to conceal nothing of our Faith, at the same time avoiding all polemic.

This is the method of the work entitled *L'Église*, which has just been published by A. D. Sertillanges, a professor at the *Institut catholique* of Paris.¹ Not only does he name no opponent, but he does not even wish to enter the field of apologetic defence. In order to convince he counts much less on apologetics than on loyal statement. This statement includes the *raison d'être* and the nature of the Church, then its general characteristics, its inner sacramental life, its attitude with regard to the world and its organization. It cannot here be a question of entering into a detailed analysis. My aim is not to make a report but to indicate the chief features of the work, to say to what needs it responds and what response it makes to them.

M. Sertillanges is a professor, but not of history. His domain is rather theology, philosophy and ethics. The Church of which he treats is not the primitive Church, but the Church existing in the twentieth century under the eyes of humanity. And humanity is in constant touch with it, knows it and loves it. At the beginning of the war he occupied the pulpit of the Madeleine, perhaps the most famous in Paris, and there every Sunday for a whole year he spoke on the heroic life: of soldiers, of the sick, of mothers, of nurses, of all France roused to a sublime effort. His has been a voice to cheer and console, the echo of the teaching given by the strong, conveying to the feeble their lesson with the authority of the Holy Word. He could not ignore the strong current which was hurrying the whole of modern society—towards social organization.

¹Two volumes. Gabalda, Paris. Second edition, 1917.

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In what measure has the Protestant principle of free investigation influenced the spread of individualism since the sixteenth century? I do not wish to inquire into this now, for I have engaged to make no incursions on others here. Still it may be said that the Renaissance has had a large and doubtless the initial part in this development. The philosophy of the Greeks was, as we all know, a reaction of the reason arguing against traditional theology, and also against the social ethics of the cities. Starting with Socrates, it desired to base ethics on human nature viewed for the most part in the individual. And although Aristotle had the wisdom to declare that man is a social animal (ζῷον πολιτικόν) it is chiefly as a thinking monad that he has been studied by Platonians. Now the Renaissance was in a great measure an infatuation for Plato to the detriment of Aristotle. And as the full development of individualism resulted in the eighteenth century, we may assume that the development of natural science was not unacquainted with it. At the present we imagine that nothing counts without the approbation of reason, and this might be understood. But we add that no institution exists that has not its origin in free compliance with reason. Man, or rather men, are individuals who one day decided to form themselves into a body.

We are grateful for Rousseau's *Contrat Social*, the power of which appeals to all in France, and which was read with admiration everywhere. As Rousseau had a religious soul, he brought religion into his *Contrat Social*, and acknowledged the social advantages of Christianity. Most people still agree that religion is an absolutely individual matter, and as the mother of the Regent has already said, "Each one makes his own little religion for himself." And, we may reply in passing, that is why even if the various powers that have succeeded each other in France since the Revolution—after the reign of terror—have always declared that they respected liberty

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of thought and of belief, many have shown themselves hostile to the groups which constitute churches, and above all to the great group which is the Church. Many continue to esteem religion worthy of all respect, but consider that it is purely individual, and should remain as much as possible confined to the conscience.

But while this theory meets with some favour in the political world, sincere observation leads us to recognize that it is contrary to all the experiences of humanity.

Man is a reasonable being, it is understood, but at the same time a sociable and even social being. Against the exaggerated individualism of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, there arose the protestations of political economy, of philosophy, and above all of life. All those who wish to live to attain some end group themselves into a body. And from the pens of writers separated by all their tendencies we have the same thoughts, almost the same words, on the subject of what man owes to society. In reading the sociological works of the school of Dr. Burckheim there will be found repeated praise of society, and of course the mention of what the individual owes to it. But exactly the same is to be found in the works of M. Léon Bourgeois, who tried to found in France independent lay ethics on the principle of solidarity, and in the recent work by M. Loisy, entitled *Religion*, meaning the religion of humanity.

This religion of humanity recalls to us that of Auguste Comte, the founder of positivism, who has so well shown the social character of religion. For this series of positive facts which shows us man dependent on society for his education, his daily life, his instruction, his sentiments, finding in it an indispensable support, in brief the development of all his faculties, these positive facts, I say, are not less convincing in the religious order. The study of religions has entirely decided in favour of the premature views of Auguste Comte; no religion, except as the patrimony of a collective body, even Protestantism

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itself after having repudiated the Church, has founded churches or communities.

But this statement is far from serving the interests of the Church alone. If men are more than ever led to form themselves into groups, their social interests often tend to what is called socialism.² Socialism becomes in fact a real church with its very ardent faith, shared by millions of individuals faithfully following a given impulse and possessing the courage to face martyrdom. On the whole this movement is directed against the Church, although not always in the same way, for some reproach it with understanding nothing of the modern world born of the Revolution, and others again with having joined with the capitalist *bourgeoisie* who have profited by it.

Given in a few words and in big lines such is the situation which presented itself to M. Sertillanges. Brunetière in his celebrated book, *On the Ways to Belief*, had already shown that the positivism of Auguste Comte could in some respects contribute to the return of souls to the Catholic Church by means of its social instinct. M. Sertillanges has not hesitated to claim for the Church the sane ideas gained by experience. His formulas, ever impressive, and often decidedly forcible, are not behind those of the most ardent students of the social instinct, of human solidarity. "Man," he says, "imbibes society with his milk" (p. 15). But he does not insist on the purely human side of this truth. Does it apply to religious order? It might be doubted, seeing that God could fulfil directly all the desires of the human soul. But it is not God's practice to deal with man as his Saviour without taking account of the nature He has

²This is not the place to enter into detail. On account, however, of its singularity, a movement in German Switzerland must be mentioned which calls itself religious-social, whose organ is *Die Neuen Wege*, and which, contrary to various forms of German socialism, Christian or otherwise, absolutely refuses all grouping and organization, for fear of falling into politics as others have done.

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given him as His Creator. In the two orders the same senses have the same value. "Why, in general, are we social beings? It is, we said, because we are only completed by others, and because we can reach no end alone. Nature impels us to be and to do more than we can be or do by ourselves, and by means of this instinct we become a society. Now, at bottom, this sense is the same as that appealed to by us when we demand why we are religious beings" (p. 61). And if, in the natural order, competitions of ambition and the clash of interests separate men, before God, man is not a competitor or isolated: "The brother has need of his brother, he needs him trebly: for himself, to sympathize with him in a complementary unity; for his friend's sake in natural friendship; for God in the interest of a higher devotion" (p. 65). Truly Christians admit that the Spirit of God works immediately in the soul. It impels them to pray, to appeal to the Father as their Father. But the prayer only reveals our weakness, for it is in the religious order above all that we need help. And could it be thought that God would answer this prayer by some special act, a heavenly invitation to egotism?" (p. 65). This is the conclusion: "If today there is an increasing tendency to socialize life; and if some churches, in the etymological sense of the word, organize themselves everywhere and for all, because it is recognized that this is the price of development, that isolation and the particularist spirit are a waste of strength, are necessarily stagnation, misery; so much the more, I say, as these things progress, should religious life, religious progress, religious ends, which admit of the gravest difficulties as well as the highest pretensions, take this resource into account" (p. 67).

Now whoever speaks of society speaks of an authority which is the bond of social order, which determines the end and directs the way. Therefore conflicts may arise between authority and the spirit of liberty. M. Sertil-

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langes knows human nature and also history too well to decide in every case against pretensions more or less individual. That authority is abused is no reason for destroying authority. M. Sertillanges is so sure of his point that he puts it in this forcible way: "Purely inward inspiration . . . is an anomaly which can reveal itself only through reaction against an authority which has become odious. Thus hatred of the police created the theories of anarchy" (p. 75). And far from its being a fact, according to the teaching of Renan, that mediocrity founded authority, the Church was in the very nature of things. "Catholicism is not even an *institution*; it is more, it is better, it is an organism; and if Jesus had not organized it, the Holy Spirit would nevertheless have come, it would have organized itself" (p. 70). Again: "And that this accomplished itself in part alone, in the same way as we have already observed, has been brought forward as an objection by some, as if the Church were a product of chance. But on the contrary this proves that it is a product of life. The living move of themselves, and so does the Church" (p. 85).

May our readers weigh well these words just as they stand. Something more is meant than in his other statement: "Jesus preached the Kingdom of Heaven, which was the Church to come." M. Sertillanges recalls the decisive significance of the texts of the gospels which show Jesus investing Peter with His authority over the Church. And the working of the Holy Spirit being divine, there can be no question of classing the Church among natural organisms.

I should nevertheless have been glad to have some elucidations on the point where the Church is grafted onto the social instinct of man. For Dr. Burckheim and his school, insisting on the social character of religions, do not fail to add that religion is the outcome of society. And this is true of the so-called rational religions. The gods of the Greeks were splendid supermen, beautiful

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creations of a people gifted in an unusual measure with the æsthetic sense. It may also be said that the Egyptian Pantheon with its strange mixture of human and animal sprang spontaneously from the spirit of a people which mingled at will all ideas, seeing the divine diffused everywhere without ever isolating it. So in the most cultured of ancient communities religion was but an appendage to the civil community. Each city had its gods, as it had its priests. If it was destroyed by conquest its gods would disappear, and if it was simply absorbed by a larger state the gods shared the power, according to the same hierarchy, in Olympus and in the state. Then the state, becoming a new body, had to have its special gods, so, for instance, the Roman Empire established everywhere the worship of Augustus and Rome.

But the matter is no longer as clear when it is a question of those religions which, rising above the horizon of the city, promised to man salvation in a higher region, in the company of the gods. Nevertheless, whether these gods be Isis or Dionysus or Demeter or Mithras, the origin of these religions, the collective character of which was guaranteed by a priesthood imbued with peculiar traditions, may still be recognized. Although appealing to the soul, none of these religions could develop a universal character. But with Christianity this is certainly the fact. To deny it one must make it a creation of the Roman Empire. Evidence is, however, against this, since it came out of Judea and had to conquer the Empire. This interpretation would, let us believe, not be fruitless to those who would ask how it is that the Church, if it is, like religion, necessarily an organism, yet is not an organism born of the simple human social instincts. And this is what M. Sertillanges expresses in a word when he reminds his readers of the foundation of authority by Jesus and makes it an appeal to the bond of the Holy Spirit. For if the Catholic

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Church is very visibly one, with an outward unity that some compare to imperialism, it should not be forgotten that St. Paul saw the reason for its unity in the incorporation of humanity in Christ. This is what M. Sertillanges often recalls, seeing in the Church the continuation of the Incarnation. And it may perhaps be to keep this mystic conception always before the minds of the heads of the Church that the Roman Church has two patron saints, St. Peter, from whom is derived the universal power of jurisdiction, and St. Paul, the author of the Epistle to the Romans (that cathedral of the faith, as a Protestant has said) who traced the ineffaceable lines of the union of the faithful with Christ.

The Church, therefore, appears as a universal society, inviting into its unity not only all souls to assure their salvation, but all men, to whom it promises a greater sum of happiness if they yield themselves to its teaching and practise its principles.

But is it not to be feared that authority may abuse its prerogatives? I shall quote the words of M. Sertillanges. These quotations will be somewhat long; but they are a demonstration, well worthy of a treatise, of the liberty which is still enjoyed in the Church. "It cannot be denied that abuses may arise. Flatterers have succeeded in offering to Rome incense more or less pure. Some Italian camarillas buzzing like flies round the Holy See have attempted to compromise it, and have sometimes succeeded in spite of it. Or again, and more honourably, excellent souls, in the enthusiasm of a victory for unity, which they justly deemed precious, have perhaps gone too far in utilizing its consequences, as the child who has discovered the use of an object makes use of it all the time and so abuses it. All this is human" (p. 161). The following is more concise and is of still greater significance: "The Pope, the secular representative of Christ, and the Church united with the Pope, are infallible with regard to certain points

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and under certain conditions; but beyond these conditions and these points they are again but human and subject to possible weaknesses. The priest, their messenger, is fallible in much greater measure, and that always. He is liable to err; he may express himself badly; he may deserve to be disclaimed by authority, as authority itself, beyond its precise domain and the conditions under which it participates in the divine Absolute, may deserve to be disclaimed by Christ" (Vol. 2, p. 83).

Finally, there are some who reproach the Church with not understanding modern times, with clinging to antiquated customs, and there are others who seem to make it their business to justify these unjust suspicions. See what M. Sertillanges has to say to them: "If thus in the life of the Church some things are unchangeable, there are also others which are out of date, others perpetually renewable, and it is the human contribution which, through the centuries, places itself in the service of this life of the Church, and is embodied in it for the time being, but with no more right to bind it to any one of its stages than the food assimilated today by our bodies has the right to arrest the vital ever-moving flow ever the same beneath its incessant transformations" (I. p. 168). "When this truth is insisted on, everybody agrees to it, but in practice an immense group forgets it, desiring to linger, under the pretext of the fixity of religion, in the spiritual state of a past day, under regulations that have become oppressive, in outworn practices. The smallest drawback to this attitude is that, remaining thus stationary in a universe in motion, we risk joining the ranks—in the name of Christ, what irony!—of the halt and the lame of the human army. But the greatest peril of all is that the souls of little faith, and, *a fortiori*, those without faith, may confound our cause with that of the Church itself, and that, seeing us lagging because we have not known how to live our religion in the midst

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of our worldly surroundings, they may come to deny that religion is a part of life: in which case we have caused God to be blasphemed, by hindering Him from showing forth in us the evidence of His quickening life" (p. 172).

Certainly the codification of canonical law by the reigning Pontiff, Benedict XV, is a proof that the Church does not intend to remain stationary with confused legislation, keeping no count of fresh needs—a brilliant proof of the power of the Church to fit for its unity the most varied races; and it is even more striking today than it has ever been that never was its expansion so great.

It was especially by this faculty for expansion that Father Monsabré, in his celebrated lectures at Notre Dame, explained the Catholic note which distinguishes the Church. Nevertheless he had recognized that "Catholicity is useless without unity." In a certain sense each Catholic carries with him the whole Church. It is on this point that M. Sertillanges especially insists. The Church is catholic, that is to say, universal, that is, adapted to all humanity, and therefore free from all that limits it in any domain whatsoever, from all that restricts action, from all that implies particularism (p. 113).

This is the only religion that has a right to this title.

Here especially I should have been glad if the author, leaving philosophy a moment for history, had undertaken to prove this claim by facts. For many scholars and students of ecclesiastical history talk fluently of three universal religions, Judaism, Islamism, and Christianity. They were put on the same level in Lessing's celebrated drama, *Nathan der Weise*, and their rights placed on an equal footing in the story of the three rings, one of which was the father's, but was indistinguishable from the others. It has long been affirmed that Judaism, if it did claim to apply to all races, supposes a connection with one only. And this remark would have a

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particular savour today when the Zionist movement has become of such importance. Since the Israelites, after having become citizens in almost all the larger countries of the world aspire to establish themselves in the Holy Land, in order to build up their nationality there once more, since they have even officially raised a standard in which figures the shield of David, it is difficult to deny that their religion has a strongly accentuated national aspect. And as to Islam, if its action is much more vigorous and its expansion greater, unless we take it as a pure deism which would deprive it of its religious character, a firm adherence to the mission of Mahomet must be included. However the critics may decide—and I desire to say nothing here which may offend its initiates—it is a fact that the confession of this faith has not penetrated into so-called civilized countries. It was interesting by way of contrast to ascertain that the Church, although born in the Roman world, and appearing in administrative forms resembling externally those of the Imperial administration, shows itself able to reach people still in a state of ignorance as well as others. Not that its success is everywhere the same. In China, for example, it is very slow, almost imperceptible. But may not this be, as Brunetière thought, because China is a country where social institutions, extremely enduring and stable, are almost entirely pervaded with the little religious sentiment that this race possesses? Thus it is the social principle which in this case stands in the way of a social principle. Yet China has furnished some eminent Christians, some priests even and martyrs. Perhaps the upheaval of the ancient social order may turn to the profit of the Church.

And must we not say as much of the horrible catastrophe which is making such havoc of humanity? Yet M. Sertillanges, though he feels no unwillingness to be a man of his time, avoids all development of a question so timely. Perhaps he did not wish to deprive his work

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of all the permanent value which it owes to its conceptions and to its metaphysical and ethical reasoning. But who can pass over this cataclysm, which like a violent whirlwind sweeps away all the nations like dead leaves, in the fatal dance of death? Especially since people have not failed to say that the present war will be fatal to the Church? It certainly began with spontaneous explosions of nationalism. In France, in particular, the danger which threatened our country was so great that we had but one thought. It might have been said that the eternal concern of souls took a second place, so much did all classes of society, even the priests, appear entirely occupied with their military duties, devoting themselves with their whole hearts to the service of their country. So complete was the harmony between those within the Church and those without, between religious souls and those professing free thought, that it might have been said that there was but one faith, one religion, one church—faith in the destiny of France, the religion of the *patrie*, and the national church of France. One did not then think of the brotherly love which unites all souls in Christ. People were heard to say that in any case men would hereafter think only of national religions and churches.

However, reflection showed more clearly how things were. One might have replied shortly to those who wished to restore religions to a pre-Christian state, "What call is there for such retrogression, since facts have proved the fidelity of Catholics to their national duty? You pretend to fear the interference of one who is called a foreign ruler? You do not wish for an order coming from outside? You fear his influence on Catholic patriots?"

But if the Pope speaks in the name of God, he can but remind them of their duty as Catholics to defend their country even at the cost of their lives. If he used different language, he would not be listened to, but he

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cannot use it, for neither the Church nor its Head can deny their traditional doctrines. Then there is nothing to fear from the Church with regard to the maintenance of nationalities.

But do I say, Nothing to fear? The Church is the firmest bulwark of the independence of nations. Whatever may be the meaning and the end of this present war, it has caused too many ruins, heaped up too much suffering and mourning for humanity to agree often to commit itself to so bloody a game.

Without the gift of prophecy it is conceivable that one nation may prevail over the others. We have seen it attempted and the civilized world will cause it to fail. But if these attempts were renewed in a more evident form, we may be certain that the Papacy would be their chief enemy. Since the end of the Roman Empire, it has known too well what pretensions to a world domination cost it. With generous thought one of the Popes, wishing to bring order out of the chaos of growing feudalism, had restored the Holy Empire. But it soon became evident that it would be the most dangerous rival of his spiritual power, an enemy born of its independence. From that time the court of Rome has shown its intention to oppose every universal empire. It defended Italian communities against the Hohenstaufen, the peoples of Europe against the hegemony of Charles V at a time when the sun did not set on the possessions of the king of Spain, and this historic law required Pius VII, the mild and timid Pius VII, to be the opponent of the Caesar whom he had crowned.

Is it not characteristic that Benedict XV should have made his own this idea of the brotherhood of the peoples which the *Internationale* extolled? But in reality he did not make it his own; it belongs to the treasure of the Church, and even to the deposit of Holy Scripture. At the time of Père Lacordaire no one could foresee the end of wars, and some were not far from regarding

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war as a divine institution. But he had the courage to exclaim: "For myself, I believe in prophecies!" He means these prophecies of Isaiah, who saw, in the future, Immanuel, the flower of the root of Jesse, reigning in the world, while the peoples made their swords into plough-shares, and the wolf fed with the lamb. A prospect still far removed from our dark horizon! But who does not see that the Church, which calls all men to the same faith and to the practice of the same virtues, preaching indeed but one virtue, which is divine love, is eminently suited to usher in the reign of peace? The *Internationale* commends it also, but up to the present at least its action has not been effective. Neither has the Church succeeded. But at least it preaches peace everywhere. It does not propose peace among the nations as the best means for calmly carrying on class war.

I have just drawn attention to the call the Church makes to virtue. It is then holy. It is also apostolic. M. Sertillanges has said briefly of this apostolicity as much as could be said in a popular work dominated by the highest philosophical conceptions. But it is clear that it is but a sketch. Faithful to his principle, or rather to facts, he declares that Catholics come to Christ by the Church, as a Frenchman belongs to France although he has never studied how France has become what she has been from the time of Clovis. But doubtless this comparison, as all comparisons, should not be pressed too far. For a Frenchman to cease to be French would be indeed a strange proceeding, a break of which he would see few examples around him. And in the same way a man rarely studies the history of France to know if he ought to become a naturalized Frenchman. But the Church, though a perfect society, belongs to the supernatural order. It is sharply assailed in Catholic countries, but it exercises its attractions in other surroundings. It is then of sovereign importance that its historical titles should not be less well established than

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its social functions. Its present organization with its hierarchy, its sacraments, its virtues, is of a nature to draw men to it. But it is no less important to state that it is the Church of Christ, that it fulfilled its mission, especially in those early days of existence which are so decisive in history, and is still fulfilling it.

* * * * *

This need has been admirably met in studies by Mgr. Batiffol, especially in his volume on the Early Church, the success of which in France has been definitively assured, which there are translations of into German, English and Spanish.³

If I had to make one reservation with regard to M. Sertillanges's book it would be in respect to the proposition: "The Roman power was hardly exercised definitely before the fourth century" (p. 180). The author has evidently been led to this assertion by his sympathetic desire to avoid any exaggeration, to extend a hand to opponents, to listen to their opinions, to recognize them in as great a measure as possible. But that the concession is exaggerated is proved by the work of Mgr. Batiffol, who is as careful to advance nothing that will not bear the examination of the most exact critic with all the apparatus and all the precision of contemporary scholarship.

What a splendid book! It is conceived in true French fashion, around a central idea which is the essence of the Church, ever the same in its continuity. It was from the beginning, as it is today, a mature faith, a visible society, a living authority. The identity of the faith is certainly an important matter. But it belongs less directly to the subject of the Church as a society. Besides in his studies of history and positive theology

³*L'Église naissante et le Catholicisme*, sixth edition, Gabalda, Paris, 1913.

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the author has devoted himself to the cardinal question of the Eucharist. What interests him most in the Early Church is the constitution of the Church, and the position of the question as it presents itself today, not for orthodox Protestant communities in general, but for university critics, of whom Professor Harnack is on this point the chief representative. Protestant science in fact no longer disputes the existence of the Catholic Church at the time of St. Irenaeus and Tertullian. The most refractory demand only that we go back to St. Cyprian, about the year 250. But they have not on that account laid down their arms. If it is difficult for them to show a break in continuity between the first writings which follow the New Testament and writers of the Catholic Church such as St. Irenaeus, Tertullian, St. Cyprian, they still attempt to deny the existence of an authority at the time of the Apostles. And especially they intrench themselves in this supreme negation: The Church is not the work of Jesus, it created itself automatically. Even in this great field of the criticism of the texts we see the influence of the social conceptions of which we have spoken making itself felt. Dr. Sohm says: "The desire of the natural man is to externalize religion," and Professor Harnack recognizes in the Church even in the first century a definite social constitution. But all this is the work of the natural man, a reaction of natural tendencies against the work of Jesus. The genius of Luther is only the greater for this reason that he recognized behind the Church of the Middle Ages, behind even the nascent Catholic Church, the true and purely spiritual religion of Jesus, adopted individually, inspired by the gift of the Holy Spirit, not in a society, but in an anarchy which gives to each his independence.

It is at this point that there is a collision. Opposition was inevitable, but the controversy has always been courteous. Professor Harnack points out to his public the importance of the Early Church, and shows his

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satisfaction that "the researches of the author are carried on in part in the form of a dialogue with himself."⁴ Naturally he is not disposed to yield like the complaisant interlocutors in an imaginary dialogue. But one sees the importance of this very free treatment of the history of the Early Church, and how much we gain in the solution of these questions when we confine the problems by using books which go thoroughly to the heart of the matter.

If we wish to study the Church from its beginning, it must be compared to Judaism, from which it came, to paganism, from which it was to receive such important reinforcements. The Church of Christ could not borrow from paganism, nor even from the spirit of association in the Greek-Roman world, a principle of unity: it was, however, necessary to show that it is not a *collegium* according to the Roman conception, nor a religion for *collegia*. It had also to be proved that Judaism, not being a church, had no power to give this character to the Christian community. What then was Christianity? It was very soon felt that it was something different, a "*tertium genus*." Now this third *manière d'être* had already been sketched by St. Paul. It is not a company formed by chance, brought together at best by the impulse of the Holy Spirit. Of course the inspiration of the Holy Spirit animates all Christians, it is through the Holy Spirit that they are one in Christ; they are therefore a spiritual body. But this spiritual body is in its way a people as distinct from other people as were the people of Israel. It was, then, a visible body. It was St. Paul who said this when he called Christians true Israelites, and who said, "Give no occasion of stumbling, either to the Jews, or to Greeks, or to the church of God" (I Cor. 10 : 32). We have, therefore, from the time of the Apostles this double note, which will always be that of the Catholic Church, an inner

⁴ *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, January 16, 1909.

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spiritual life, as deep, as fervent, as can be wished, varied in its manifestations as much as one could wish, and a visible body, because it has the administrative organization of the apostolate, and because, in the words of Mgr. Batiffol, so new and so penetrating, "the apostolate is not a gift, the apostolate is a principle of authority and of unity."

And this apostolate, the bond of the Early Church, binds it also to Christ, for the apostolate is a principle laid down by Christ Himself. To deny this would be to refuse all credence to the Gospel. But some recognizing it, undertake at least, like Professor Harnack, to deny that Christ laid the keystone of unity by giving to St. Peter authority over the other Apostles. This implies a denial of the authenticity of the celebrated passage of St. Matthew. But with what right, if the whole Gospel implies the unity of the Church? And here we touch the first tradition of the Church of Jerusalem.

It is by this method, as strong as it is precise, that Mgr. Batiffol proceeds. He is to be congratulated, that while writing the history of the Early Church, he has not allowed himself in the exegesis of the texts to be drawn into including all the theology of the New Testament. During the last twenty years this domain has been entirely changed. To the exegesis of liberal Protestantism as represented in the monumental works of J. Holtzmann, has succeeded a system which rests on a single idea, the so-called eschatological conception of the Kingdom of God preached by Jesus. Jesus believed the end of the world to be near, He dreamed of the reign of God installed by God Himself, under absolutely different conditions of life. He therefore could not have thought of founding a Church. Mgr. Batiffol does not ignore this new aspect of exegesis, and has shifted its front.

After all, the best answer, because the most succinct and the most topical, is that Jesus devoted a considerable part of His mission to training His Apostles. He therefore

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reserved for them a rôle in the future, He revealed His thoughts to them, He made them His messengers to preach after His death. This apostolate is the bond between Jesus and the Church. That cannot be repeated too often. Quite recently it was proposed that the work of collecting the alms of the faithful should be regarded as the origin of the apostolate. Mgr. Batiffol could not foresee this strange interpretation, and doubtless he will not trouble to discuss it in a later edition.

These principles being admitted, it may be said that all the rest follows. St. Irenaeus has clearly demonstrated these deductions, and this is conceded by all who speak of the Catholicism of St. Irenaeus.

There is here, however, a strange phenomenon. The Church is visible; that no one doubts. It lives in the same religion, in the same discipline; all Christians have the same hope. It is the lapidary formula of Tertullian: *Corpus sumus de conscientia religionis et disciplinae unitate et spei foedere*. The centre of unity is at Rome. Tertullian recognized it from the very first as well as St. Irenaeus. And nevertheless the papacy seems to vegetate in a sort of obscurity, while, once again, the light appears to shine in the East, at Alexandria and in Palestine. Christianity is in the way to become a philosophy, a science, and not only in those gnostic churches which assimilated it amiss, and through the most heteroclite ideas, but in the bosom of the church of Alexandria, with Clement of Alexandria, with Origen, who transports to Palestine the torch of high learning. Now it happens that Clement, devoted to his speculations, absorbed in much reading, does not suspect the existence of the hierarchy. May it not be that he represents the primitive state of the Christian community before it had become a perfect society? Must we say with Dr. Bigg: "His heart is with the republic; he is the Samuel of the new monarchy."⁵ There is more imagination than solid

⁵*Christian Platonists*, p. 100.

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reasoning here. And what if it be true that Clement is silent on the subject of the hierarchy of the Church? A mystic like St. Theresa returns again and again to this fundamental idea because in her time the Church was rent. But the disciples of St. Thomas Aquinas regretted that he had not written a treatise on the Church, and I do not know if much is made of the question in the writings of St. Nilus or of St. John Climacus. A Platonist like Clement could set aside the external organism. Again Clement, so taken with cognition or *gnosis* that he would willingly have submitted to be called gnostic, has his own *gnosis*, which is not that of others, because theirs is heresy, while his is that of tradition and of the Church. There can be no surer rule to discern attachment to the Church than this sentiment of heresy which fatally divides those who desire to believe in their own way and those who adopt the common faith. We might trust Mgr. Batiffol to notice the decisive passages in the rather heavy work of Clement. "Let us admit," he says in concluding, "that Clement does not, like Irenaeus, insist on the bonds which unite the members of this great body to each other: the Catholic Church of Clement has always one rule of faith, one canon of liturgy, one canon of Scriptures, a common tradition. . . . However abundant in the work of Clement that we possess may be the share of philosophic propaedeutics on the one hand, and of ecclesiastical *gnosis* later, the administrative organization of the faith is with him the same as with Irenaeus, his Church is hierarchical and anti-heretical" (p. 315).

And it is the same with Origen. These Egyptians are certainly imbued with the purest spirit of the Greeks. Their country is less the home of the ancient Pharaohs than the library of Alexandria. Origen is perhaps less learned than Clement, but he has no less esteem for the rational worth of the Greek philosophers. Their erudition seems to him contemptible and mistaken in the mouth of a Celsus, who understood nothing of Chris-

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tianity; but he himself has penetrated deep enough into their teaching to discover in it a truth reconcilable with the faith. Hate blinds some antagonists to the moral and religious value of the teaching of Christ. A too generous sympathy conceals from Origen what stumbling-blocks are hidden in the philosophy of Plato. Having seen that the gnostic systems rested in part on a false exegesis of Scripture, he devotes himself to the gigantic task of proof and criticism of the texts. Entirely devoted to the intellectual aspects of Christianity, as was the tradition of the Greeks, who were so often the victims of their aversion to discipline, he gives but distraught attention to the external life of the Church. It is an ingenious view of Mgr. Batiffol that Origen spoke much of churches because he thought much of the ancient Greek cities which were, much as churches, in the primitive sense of that word, assemblies in broad daylight of people who met to hear their favourite orators. Nevertheless witness is not wanting in his work to show his belief in the unity of the Church.

Even before his time, however, we find the impassioned *exposé* by a great genius of the conception of a spiritual Church, or rather of the negation of the Church, and of the ideal of the faithful directly animated by the Holy Spirit, without any man having control of their divine inspiration. But this plea, for such it is, comes too late. It comes too late in the chronology of the Church, since Tertullian is the contemporary of Irenaeus. Above all it comes too late in the career of Tertullian himself, after formal declarations in favour of a Roman unity. How the priest of Carthage denied his past when he had fallen into heresy, is the most tragic page in the history of the Early Church. And while Carthage, having become Latin, vied in genius with Greek Alexandria, till the brightness of doctrine seemed to shine to the periphery of the Roman world, Irenaeus the Asiatic had become the bishop of Lyons. It is however evident that from that

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time great doctrinal questions immediately affecting the faith were handled chiefly in Rome, and were decided there. The papacy strengthened its position by its actions. Is it just to reproach it for not having begun with sounding declarations, save to regret that it did not spare them later? However that may be, facts, too, are eloquent, and their effect is more certain. These facts have for long been known. It cannot be said that new facts were here produced. Recent discoveries, such as the *Odes of Solomon*, after that of the *Didache*, have no relation to ecclesiastical discipline. Mgr. Batiffol is satisfied to place them in the light of history, in all serenity of judgment. The principal and the most striking intervention of the Roman Church is that of Pope Victor in the controversy of the Quartodecimans, who wished to celebrate Easter always with the Jews on the fourteenth of the month Nisan. Of this time Renan testifies: "The Papacy was born and well born." But it was not born about the year 140, for such vigorous action could not be the beginning. And indeed the Roman Church had already pronounced excommunication against Marcion and Valentinus. Even this was a proceeding which had already become traditional, for it must be inferred from it "that the authorities of the Roman Church in 144 are not at all caught unawares by such doctrinal errors as those of Valentinus and Marcion, and that, in order to root out these errors, it does not appear that it was obliged to create modes of procedure till then unknown" (p. 279). With a series of similar assertions, of judicial moderation, free from all stress and exaggeration, Mgr. Batiffol concludes: "The monarchical episcopacy was no *coup d'état* that happened to succeed, the Roman primacy was no conquest by main force, the unanimity of the churches was no laborious and slow task accomplished by means of concerted effort, through successes and defeats. Neither the Roman Church nor any other church has been the

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principal worker of this unity. As much should be said of the Roman primacy, which was recognized by all, far more than asserted by Rome. In the fourteenth century contradictions of it were not wanting, even after it had been extolled in the second. Rome, however, if we recall the letter of St. Clement, did not plead its own right, which it knew to be divine; it exercised it" (p. 495).

Space does not suffice to follow Mgr. Batiffol in his subsequent studies. We should need to spend a long time over the volume devoted to the Church at the moment of its recognition in the Empire as an organized society by the Edict of Milan and at the time of the Arian crisis.⁶ From the beginning the author had fixed upon St. Augustine and St. Leo as marking the end of his researches. On St. Augustine the *Revue Biblique* has already had the good fortune to publish some articles which clearly indicate the results obtained. It must be shown how the Doctor of Grace, who was throughout the Middle Ages, and remains in modern times, the most abundant source of the inner spiritual life as it is consummated by union with Jesus Christ, was also the Doctor who was most concerned for ecclesiastical unity.

Can these works of M. Sertillanges and Mgr. Batiffol have a more appropriate epigraph than the words of the bishop of Hippo: "What are you doing, my brother? We are brothers, we call upon the one God, we believe in the only Christ, we hear the same Gospel, we sing the same psalms, we answer with the same Amen, we sound the same Alleluia, we celebrate the same Easter. Why are you without, while I am within?"⁷

PARIS

⁶ *La Paix Constantinienne et le Catholicisme*, Paris, 1916.

⁷ Augustine, *Enarr.* in *psalm*. LIV., 16.

A Constructive Epistle

BY WALTER LOCK, D. D.
Warden of Keble College, Oxford.

Men's minds are full—the wide world over—of the hopes and problems of reconstruction, reconstruction of the relations of class to class, of nation to nation, of Church to Church, of hemisphere to hemisphere: and as men's temperaments are pessimistic or optimistic they vary between an anticipation of an increased bitterness which shall issue in more tremendous warfare on the one hand, and on the other the hope of reconciliation, regeneration, and a stronger sense of brotherhood that may lead to a perpetual peace. At such a moment it is well to look back to the time which perhaps offers the closest parallel in the history of the world, when there were the same hopes and the same fears,—the days of the foundations of the Christian Church. There is much to be gathered in this respect even from Pagan writers: they had a deep sense of the evil in human nature, of the decadence of the time, of the need of regeneration: there was an attempt to spread education more widely, to revive the old Roman worships, to purify family life, to introduce a more emotional element in religion and a closer sense of brotherhood by the adoption of the mystery-cults of Egypt and of Persia.¹ All these efforts had real results: but the real momentum was supplied by Christianity, and this paper is only concerned with the Christian attitude to the problem. In the New Testament there is one Gos-

¹Cf. Dill. *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*. London, 1904.

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pel and one Epistle which especially deal with it. The Fourth Gospel reconstructs the life of Jesus Christ in the sense that it shows that it was not to be thought of as a mere event in past history but as a portrait of a living Lord, who had a message for all the world, Samaritan and Greek as well as Jew, for those who had not seen Him no less than for those who had, whose coming was not merely a future event at the end of the world but also a present coming by the Holy Spirit in the heart of each believer, so that eternal life is a present gift and begins here and now. The Epistle to the Ephesians may be said to reconstruct the conception of the Roman Empire and to show how it would find a fuller and more spiritual representation in the Christian Church. Of these two writings the latter is almost certainly the earlier in date: no doubt there lies behind it the tradition of the Lord's life and sayings which was afterwards embodied in the Gospel, and St. Paul may well have heard the account of them from "the disciple whom Jesus loved" himself, but the date of the writing and publication of the epistle is probably some twenty-five or thirty years before that of the Gospel. I will then deal only with it.

St. Paul is in prison at the time when he writes: in all probability that imprisonment was at Rome, and if so, the year must have been the third if not the fourth of his imprisonment and enforced inactivity and his converts were in danger of losing heart: they were full of anxious forebodings. But not so was it with himself. He knows, indeed, that the days are evil (5:16) and that there is a worse day to come (6:13): yet he faces both the present and the future with untroubled confidence. These three years had been years of quiet meditation, of a yet deeper outlook on the world, of spiritual growth; for it was the time of the *pax Romana*, and as he who was ever proud of his Roman citizenship and who for years had longed to see Rome lived in the heart of the

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Roman world, as he realized that wonderful system of law and government that had protected him and brought peace to the world, as he saw how this centred in the person of the Emperor and how nation after nation was being brought under its sway, there rose a vision before him of an Universal Church centring in Him who in a far deeper and more lasting sense could be its "peace." His heart is full of optimism, of thankfulness, of praise: as at Philippi years before, so now he sings hymns in prison. The three years in prison had been to him a "retreat," as fertile as the three years in Arabia that followed his conversion. So he writes an encyclical letter, not to Ephesus alone, but to the other Gentile churches of Asia Minor, also. It is the most ecumenical of all his letters: it is the Epistle which we may take most absolutely as applicable directly to ourselves, for less than any other is it affected by local considerations; it is not like those to Rome and Galatia controversial or even argumentative; "from first to last the teaching, whether theological or religious, is exclusively positive in form."²

Its keynote is the thought of unity (*ἐνότης* 4:3.13, is found in the New Testament only in this Epistle: for *ἐς* cf. 2:14, 15, 16, 18; 4:4, 5, 6; 5:31.) As he thinks of unity his mind travels back along the course of history to note the events and tendencies which had built the royal road for it: he sees the mark of purpose running through the ages (3:11 *κατὰ πρόθεσιν τῶν αἰώνων*): Rome could look back to the foundation of the city and date all its events *ab urbe conditor*: the Christian can look much farther back and date the dawn of his history *ante orbem conditum* (1:3 *πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου*): in the very heart of God, before the foundation of the world, lay the sense of sonship, that basal human principle which is the spring of all the right attitude to God and of the sense of brotherhood among men. His mind marks off the various past epochs, following one after the other, until the series was

² Hort, *On the Romans and Ephesians*, p. 81.

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complete (1:9, τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν καιρῶν): there had been the patriarchal period when the faith of Abraham had given the essential element in religion and the hope of a universal blessing (Gal. 3): there had been Moses and the law, witnessing to the moral character of God and trying to enforce it on one separate nation: there had followed the prophets, they too bearing their witness to God's moral character and looking forward to the inclusion of the Gentiles in the blessings of the chosen race (Rom. 3:21, and 15:8-12): there had been the Apocalyptists, confident that good would manifest itself at every crisis in His people's history and that His promises would stand sure. Nor need we think of him as confining his outlook to Jewish history and Jewish Scripture: he could see, no less clearly than we can now, that the simplest heathen had instincts that led him to worship the creator, that Greek poetry recognized that man was the offspring of God, that Stoicism was proclaiming the truth of the unity of mankind as one corporate body, in which men are all limbs of one another and sons of a common parent, that the Roman Empire with its law, its organized system of intercourse, its sense of justice, had paved the way for all his own missionary work and prepared men's minds for an universal church based on the sense of loyalty to a Person. He might well have heard of the expectation in the West of a great conqueror to come from the East and might know how Virgil had predicted the birth of a child who would regenerate the world.

And at last the moment had come. The Christ had appeared: the ideal of sonship had been realized: in His earthly life He had brought salvation to the Samaritans and promised that His death should bring it to the Greeks: He had brought a message of peace to those far off as well as to those that were nigh: and since His death His Apostles and prophets have been spreading the tidings, and now all the Gentiles to whom St. Paul writes have been admitted to share the blessings which he and the other

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Jewish Christians had been the first to receive: now there was being built a new temple and each community that accepted the message was like a side-chapel added to it: now there was a new empire, "the empire of Christ and of God" (5:5, a phrase found only in this Epistle): the Gentiles no longer stand outside its privileges: no, as his own family had been allowed to share the fuller privileges of Roman citizenship, so all Gentiles have become fellow citizens with the saints, members of the true family of God. But, if so, there must be no presumption on their part, no scorn of Jewish Christians, the nicknames of "the circumcision" and "the uncircumcision" must be things of the past: for all alike owe their new life to the risen Lord (2:11-13, cf. Romans 11:13-36). If then, there was this great message for the whole world, why should they lose heart even if he, the great champion of the truth and of the privileges of the Gentile Christians, is imprisoned: no, it brings honour to them that he is willing to suffer for their sake and as a prisoner he has this special message for them: this is only a temporary set-back; nay, it is scarcely that, for, while fettered, he is still an ambassador for Christ and can plead his cause (6:20): and moreover there lie long centuries ahead in which God can work out His purpose: there are whole ages lying in the future (2:7 *ἐν τοῖς αἰῶσι τοῖς ἐπέρχομένοις*): there are many generations yet to be born before the age, which will include all the many ages of the future, shall be complete (3:21 *ἐἰς πᾶσας τὰς γενεὰς τοῦ αἰῶνος τῶν αἰώνων*). So the first section of the Epistle which had commenced with a great hymn of praise for past blessings—a hymn which falls into three stanzas ending with the same refrain "to the praise of his glory"—ends with another thankful and hopeful outlook upon the future, in a passage of which Charles Simeon once said "I should think a life well spent, out of heaven, to write upon that passage in a manner worthy of it."

But St. Paul was no mere visionary; his visions and his

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arguments always issue in practical advice and wisdom. So it is here: he sees clearly enough that this unity of the Spirit will need very great effort (*σπουδάζοντες* 4:3) if it is to be secured and retained. Where then shall he find the machinery which will secure it? He looks in three different directions. First, there is the Church with its organized ministry: thanksgiving to God must find expression in the Church no less than in Christ Jesus if it is to be complete (3:21), and the manifold wisdom of God will require an universal church if it is to be realized in full (2:10): the Church has to be the complement of the Christ, and the essential note of that Church is unity, unity of form and of spirit, unity of worship, of faith, of the method of entrance into it, of its hope in the future, because it reflects ultimately the unity of the one God who is the Father of all. But this unity rests upon the recognition of the individual (*ἐν ἑκάστῳ* 4:7 and 16), on his rights and duties: the whole ministry exists for this, for the perfecting of the saints for their task of service [this is probably the right punctuation *εἰς ἔργον διακονίας* being subordinate to, not parallel to, *πρὸς τὸν καταρτισμὸν τῶν ἁγίων*]: each individual and each section of the Church will have to make its contribution to building up the whole body.

The second instrument is found in the lives of individual Christians; these lives must rise above their past heathen standard and they are regulated here, not by any thought of their own culture or responsibility but by their relation to others. The similes are drawn from Stoic philosophy and Roman citizenship: they must be worthy citizens of the Empire of Christ and of God (5:5); they must act and feel as limbs of one common body (4:25; 5:29); they must think of others as a part of themselves (4:32, *ἑαυτοῖς ὡς ἀλλήλοις*); work and speech alike must be aimed at helping the needs of others (4:28 with which it is interesting to contrast I Thess. 5:12, 29); they must not leave room for the evil spirit, whose aim is to accuse

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and slander and set brother against brother (τῷ διαβολῷ not, as usually in St. Paul, τῷ Σατανᾷ); no, they have learnt the lesson which is Christ Himself in them (εμάθετε τὸν Χριστόν, a striking phrase found only here); they have their standard in the historic life of Jesus (4:20, 21); hence they must avoid those vices which destroy unity and cultivate those virtues which establish it, forgiving one another even as God in Christ had forgiven them; so they may become imitators not merely of himself and of Christ (I Cor. 11:1), but of God Himself (5:1).

In the third place St. Paul turns to family life. This he had lately regulated in the letter to the Colossians, and Sir W. Ramsay has shown how in this, too, he was falling into line with and supporting the tendencies of the Imperial policy, which in attempting to curb the free license sanctioned by the religions of Asia Minor would only recognize as citizens, whether for municipal or for Imperial privileges, those born from the legitimate marriage of two citizens (*St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen* c. vi.). But now St. Paul sees a deeper truth; the family is the microcosm of the Church; the relation of husband to wife is like that of Christ to the Church; there is a real unity between them (5:31); the wife is as dear to the husband as himself; the treatment of children by parents should be the nurture and admonition which the Lord gives to His people; the obedience of children to parents is rooted in the essential principles of rendering to each man his due; slaves have to serve their masters as they would serve Christ; masters to treat their slaves as they would have their Master treat them. Thus the family becomes the nursery for the Church, the training ground in which the great virtues of love and of subordination are to be learnt that they may be exhibited in the wider sphere of Church life.

Church life, personal virtue, family life—St. Paul has thus used all these to promote the growth of unity. But what about the army? the soldier to whom he is fettered

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cannot let him ignore that. Is it not the army which more than anything else has built up the unity and the peace of the Roman Empire? Are all the combative instincts of mankind, the discipline, the chivalry, the self-sacrifice which are brought out in a soldier's life to be discarded now? No, there is a more serious warfare still, a more cunning enemy planning his campaigns; but the warfare and the enemy are both spiritual, and the Christian soldier will need the full armour which God Himself had been described by Isaiah as wearing; he will need not only to stand on his defence, with breast-plate and shield and helmet (here again it is interesting to contrast his earlier letter, I Thess. 5:8), but to be aggressive and take the offensive with the sword of the Spirit. Here too we find Gentile opinion moving in the same direction, for in the next century we find Plutarch telling a pupil that although we have no wars to wage, no alliances to conclude, yet we may wage war on some evil custom, revive some charitable institution, repair an aqueduct, or preside at a sacrifice.³

So St. Paul sang his hymn in prison in the hope that he might leave those to whom he wrote singing hymns and making melody in their hearts to the Lord (5:20); and we turn back to that hymn now for guidance, remembering Luther's description of the Epistle as one of those "*rechten und edelsten Bücher des Neuen Testaments, die dir Christum zeigen und Alles lehren das dir zu Wissen Noth und selig ist, ob du schon kein ander Buch noch Lehre nimmer sehest noch hörest.*"

Like St. Paul, we need to exercise our imagination: we need to look back upon the past and to trace again the stream that makes for unity running through the centuries. All that he could see remains unaltered for us to see: but now much more lies before our eyes! We can see that small Christian church of his day spreading quietly throughout the Roman world, we can see it hold-

³ Dill. *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, p. 247.

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ing its own in argument against the heathen, triumphing over its great rival in the army, Mithraism, by its more peaceful teaching and by its message for women as well as for men: we see it emerging into an Imperial power, moulding legislation, surviving the destruction of Rome and bringing the new nations under its sway, producing that "masterpiece of co-operative skill in history"⁴ the Mediaeval Church. We can see the Reformation, securing a truer recognition of the principle of nationality in religious matters, and the French Revolution securing the recognition of the principle of individual rights, of equality of opportunities for all, of brotherhood; and now that the rights of nation and individual are recognized, we watch the longing for a closer unity among mankind. It underlies all church movements of the last century, it underlies Positivism with its noble conception of the power of a Common Humanity to unite all nations and religions in one common service, it underlies all international movements: we have seen the Hague Conferences expressing the desire for a limitation of armament and issuing in the recognition of the value of an International Court: we have seen frequent arbitration treaties between state and state: we are watching movements for the reunion of Christian societies in England and in America: we have heard the Pope pleading for peace and, as far as we can foretell, there still lie before us ages yet to come, in which these longings may find their fulfilment. "The world's history is a long chain of fulfilled ideals—moral, social, scientific. One century's impossibility has been the next age's achievement. So it will be again."⁵

If this is true, then we have no reason to be downcast at the set-back of the present war; serious as it is, it will be overruled: the right hand of the Most High is over these years too and posterity will look back and "consider"

⁴J. S. Marvin, *The Living Past*, p. 136.

⁵*Papers from Picardy*, p. 99.

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its working during them. But there must be no presumptuousness in our attitude; no scorn of those who have big privileges and see less clearly. We need a far heartier recognition of the gifts of every nation, of the value that lies in every form of religion. This need is well expressed in the following testimony from America.

What the world is waiting for and what it must achieve before the foundations of a durable peace are securely laid is what Nicholas Murray Butler has called the international mind, which he defines as "nothing else than that habit of thinking of foreign relations and business, and that habit of dealing with them, which regard the several nations of the civilized world as friendly and co-operating equals in aiding the progress of civilization, in developing commerce and industry, and in spreading enlightenment and culture throughout the world."⁶

And side by side with this let me place a testimony from England in a letter by Dr. Thomas Hodgkin written after the Boer War.

"The printing press and the electric telegraph have brought the nations of the world closer together than they ever were before. Closer together in one sense, but farther asunder in another. Every rude word, every suspicious thought, every sarcastic comment on our neighbour's doings is at once echoed, as it were, in tones of thunder round the world. If private individuals in ordinary daily life behaved to one another as the nations of the world, as represented by their journalists, now behave, social life would be intolerable. . . . Is it vain to hope for a time when nations shall feel that they can, without any reflection on their courage, be as courteous to one another as citizen is to citizen in the relations of social life. To be a Christ-State would be the highest and noblest ideal that a nation could aim at, but, failing this, even to be a nation which never fell below the standard of the behaviour of a well-born gentleman,

⁶Cosmos. *The Basis of Durable Peace.*

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would be worth aiming at, and if universally adopted, prevent many wars. . . . If our nation will but drink in deeply the spirit of Christ's teaching and will with strength, courage, patience, and courtesy strive to make His ideal real, it is truly possible that in the course of the coming century, she may have as great a part in the abolition of war as she has already had in the abolition of slavery."

If these wants are to be supplied there is still need of the serious and strenuous effort for which St. Paul pleaded, need to look round the world and see the tendencies with which we have to be in alliance, the machinery which can be used to further unity. In our thoughts of the Church we must fall back on the ideal of its essential unity amid diversity: its recognition of the value of each section and the work of each individual and yet of their subordination to one central body: we must teach each lay member, man or woman, that they have a task of service to perform: we must win for our ministry those who have the gifts of leadership, who will not only lead worship but inspire character and perfect the saints for their task of service. While adhering loyally to those Christian truths which we have been taught and which especially suit our temperament, we must be large-hearted and tolerant of other sides of truth and other methods of dealing with other temperaments. The object of all our preaching and our worship will be to send the worshippers away making melody in their hearts to the Lord: praise will rank higher even than prayer in the hierarchy of spiritual privilege. One of the Apocryphal Acts in its account of the appearances of the Risen Christ has amidst much that is wild and fanciful a striking description of Him. There was in Him, it says, "a many-featured unity" (*ἐνότης πολυπρόσωπος*. *Acta Johannis* §91). That splendid phrase should be true of His Body, the Church.

¹*Life and Letters of Dr. Thomas Hodgkin*, p. 244.

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So with respect to personal morality we need to rise above individualism and to train ourselves for service: the thought of duties must be placed before that of rights: the evil which the sin of drunkenness and impurity brings upon others has been made more clear for us by the Statistics of Temperance Societies and here in England by the Royal Commission on Venereal Diseases: the excitement of war and the darkness of our cities has revealed the tendencies to the worst evils that lie in our midst: we must not be content with the sense of personal gain to our own character; we must, as Marcus Aurelius said, not even be content with feeling that we are parts (*μέρη*) of a great whole, but must feel as limbs (*μέλη*) of a body, each with a quick sympathy feeling the harm done to another limb: so we shall learn a higher sense of truthfulness, of the control of anger and of all impurity of language: we shall work not simply to win a competence for ourselves but to be able to help the needs of others: we shall be quick to forgive personal slight and injuries: and so qualified to take our part in the reconciliation of warring nations.

And all the virtues of love and subordination that we need in the wider intercourse of Church or State will still need training in the family. "The foundations of national glory are set in the homes of the people (said King George V.). They will only remain unshaken while the family life of our race and nation is strong and simple and pure." But much has been making against a high conception of the family: the increased liberty and independent work of women, the earlier age of the self-development of children, the increase of club life, all make that way: but none of these are evil in themselves if the true spirit of the home is kept up. We must train ourselves in the trustful large-hearted confidence between husband and wife which shall make the thought of divorce intolerable: we must cultivate the joy of parenthood, and we must try to send out our sons and daughters

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with the same faith in God which has helped ourselves: we must treat our servants as human beings in whose joys and sorrows we share: we must draw the orphan and the homeless into the circle of families. We must, as far as we can, influence legislation by the Christian standard, but the early Christians won the world to Christ not by legislation but by the example of their own lives: "by the gentle charities and brotherliness which in shy retirement the young Church was cultivating in her disciples to be the ideal of the world."⁸

And the army? that will not let us ignore its message: it is billeted in our colleges, it meets us in every street; we watch its ordered discipline with admiration: and those who have lived with it abroad, like the authors of *A Student in Arms* and *Papers from Picardy*, report that its heart is sound at the core, that underneath much rough language and fatalistic talk there is a real belief in God, an instinct for comradeship and brotherhood, an amazing power of cheerful endurance, a loyal response to worthy leadership, and a respect for their brave enemies, so that the spirit of hate can find less growth there than with civilians at home, an active sympathy with a wounded foe, a spirit of chivalry and adventure. All this has to be Christened anew, to be turned into a higher channel: we must make them feel that there are great tasks to be undertaken in peace-time: the fight with intemperance and impurity; the housing and true *homing* of the poor: the conquest of each disease: the spread of an education that shall fit men for service: the effort to win the whole world to a knowledge of God and of Christ. These will give scope for the spirit of adventure; the victory of peace will be as renowned as the victories of war: the healer as much honoured as the dealer of wounds: the missionary ranked as high as the soldier who has served abroad: the legislator who has improved the conditions of life as high as the successful general.

⁸Dill. *Roman Society*, p. 271.

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Such then is the message which St. Paul gave in this great constructive Epistle which Coleridge called "the divinest composition of man"; and such is the message that he would repeat in the present crisis. "The days are evil," but evil days are an opportunity: it is for you to spend and be spent until you have bought up and made your own this opportunity: this you must do "not as unwise but as wise" (5:16); using all your intelligence to watch tendencies, whether within or without the Church, that make for unity, to throw yourselves in the spirit of adventure into their support, to remember that every family and every nation upon earth gets its name, its life, its essential character from Him who is the Father of all (3:14), that you may never relax your efforts while one nation remains outside a league for peace and brotherhood because we believe in a God who worketh all things after the counsel of His will. But to fit yourselves for such a task the eye of your heart must be enlightened to take no shortsighted view either of the past or of the future: your own power of love must be trained and disciplined in loyal service to your Church, in tender-hearted intercourse with others, and above all in the nursery of true self-discipline, the home. If Rothe's saying is true, "*Niemand wird ohne Leiden geädelt*," there are the possibilities of great nobility opened for the world.

The Subjective and Objective in Religion

By W. P. DuBoSE, M.A., S.T.D.

My aim in this paper is very much a present and a practical one. But the question of the subjective and objective in religion goes back into and is part of the prior one of the immanence and transcendence of what we call *The Divine* in the universe. I assume that no serious mind will deny the fact or existence of a "divine" in the character or person of Jesus Christ,—if it be allowed its own conception or intention of the Divine. And in large part the conception would be about this: the recognition of a so-called divine order or aim in "things"—in nature, and preeminently in the mind and will of man, as manifested in exceptional Man. Socrates felt and revered the divine in himself, and in great measure conformed himself and his life to it. In a way he objectified and even personified it, but he knew it only as a monitor to himself. Plato in his philosophy,—but so too no less Aristotle in his more exact and scientific view of the world—includes *God* (thus meaning fully to personify the "divine") in the order of the universe and especially in the higher reason, meaning, and end of human life.

Modern free thought need be considered only in its culmination in the discovery of the great truth of evolution. I do not see that evolution, however true a fact it may be, and whatever be the final statement of its law or process, can interfere with or impair—indeed can do other than strengthen and confirm the (deeper than

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merely rational) conviction of a divine in nature as seen in nature's highest product, man.

Let us begin with the two terms that perhaps best express what we call the divine in ourselves—Reason and Freedom. Reason to perceive or know *What?* Freedom to do and be *What?* However we may indeed be only at the beginning of either the intellectual comprehension or the practical realization of the answers to those questions, or objects of those quests, yet already and once for all we know that we *are* at the beginning of an eternal and infinite adventure. And though we cannot define the great objective further than by such predicates as the Good, the True, or the Beautiful—yet the fact that we call, and have always called, the subject and substance of them “The Divine,” is in itself an evidence of our cognition or conviction of a *Somewhat* which exacts of us the application to it of the ultimate and highest name.

There is a sense in which the word *Agnostic* is a real modern contribution to a right understanding. All merely natural, or merely human, or merely rational and practical questionings of ultimate truth are necessarily agnostic as regards it. By ultimate truth I mean the eternal and divine reason and meaning, process and end, of human life. And I do not underrate the part and the necessity of the merely natural or merely human in human life. If man does not do all his own part in his life, God cannot do His part in it. It is only so that man discovers his need of God and so his relation to God, his divine oneness with Him, and so comes to realize in Him all the reality of *himself*.

Even where merely natural or merely human knowledge goes beyond its immediate field—of, say, science, philosophy, psychology, or ethics—and undertakes to investigate or explain religion, it is there, and there most of all, properly agnostic. For how far can this purely natural investigation of religion really go? Sup-

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pose it goes so far as a correct and thorough discovery and report of the universality and the various forms and expressions of the religious instincts—the human “feelings after God if haply they may find Him.” Still the instinct, intimation, or intuition of any real object is in its very nature a very fragmentary part or condition of knowledge. It never of itself actually “gets there.” It comes or amounts to nothing if it is not met, or except in so far as it is met, from the other side. And “the other side,” and its meetings or respondings, are not visible or tangible or in any way cognizable to the natural faculties of human observation and experience.

I will not undertake to go into the matter of the meetings from the other side to the drawings of humanity to God prior to Christianity—or in other religions. We may take the story up at this point: “God Who at sundry times and in divers measures spake in time past to our fathers through the prophets, hath in these latter days spoken to us in a Son.” If Jesus Christ is indeed God’s final and full Word to us of Himself and ourselves, we can know it only by an observation and experience outside of and beyond and above the criteria of natural knowledge. There is a spiritual discernment for spiritual things which needs no less than natural observation to be made the fullest use of. The instincts and intuitions themselves must be kept pure enough and directed wisely enough to be able to recognize their proper object when presented to them. Reason itself is not solely a natural or human faculty: if in its human limitations it cannot discover what is as yet beyond human observation or experience, it nevertheless only comes to itself and comes to its own when that which is beyond is revealed to it. For reason is that which in our measure—but in ever growing measure—we share with God. The reason whose function, within the reach of nature only, it is to see natural things aright, or “as they are,” is the same as that which can discern

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spiritual things when, beyond the reach of nature, they are revealed to it. Its higher function then is to perceive and apprehend the correspondence between the natural instincts, intimations, or drawings, and their spiritual or revealed ends, objects, or supplies. Looking forward boldly along a direction which has been amply determined, we may affirm that what the spiritualized, or spiritually enlightened, human reason can and will in the end establish, is—the absolute correspondence between all the truths of creation or of nature and the ends and destiny of man as predestined, accomplished and revealed in the person of Jesus Christ. More explicitly—it is matter of fact to the spiritual reason that the truth as we see it in Jesus Christ, from beginning to end (in human predestination or intention, human evolution or actualization, and human fulfilment or glorification) is, is alone, and is completely, the truth of God and man which man needed to know (and could not know otherwise) in order to know, or even to be, *himself*. This being so, it becomes self-evident to reason itself that the end of human function is to see man its subject at one and one with God—through the eternal and perfect act of God, one and at one with man.

More than that—the spiritual reason sees in the human part of Christ on earth a full understanding and justification of the ordeal through which humanity came to its divine self in the person of Jesus Christ. It sees how, as the animal must die in and *into* the man, through the conquest in it and over it of reason and freedom;—so, in turn and in order to that, the man must die in and to himself—*into* his divine and true self—in God. The natural man must die into the spiritual, just as before it or with it the animal into the rational and free. We need to apprehend more clearly *why* Christ could be made perfect only through the things He suffered, how eternal life could come only through mortal death. The ordeal of doubt, pain, and sacrifice was the only

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means of making and perfecting the faith, obedience, and true selfhood or manhood in God that constitute and are eternal life.

More still, the spiritual reason sees in the story of man as it is told in Jesus Christ, a complete, or completer, revelation of the meaning of creation in general, and of nature in particular. The more we see that all the mineral or material, all the vegetable or animal, all the mere natural in the universe, exists only for the end and sake of the spiritual, or, limiting ourselves to our own experience, that the only "end in itself" on earth is man, and that he lives ultimately only for and in his spiritual part,—the better, I repeat, do we understand creation or nature or both together. They are in fact all that they are only for us and in us, or other spiritual whom we know not.

All the natural thus becomes only the instrument and the environment of the spiritual—that in correspondence or in reaction with which the spiritual both is made and makes itself. Only One in this universe is entitled to know how, or how best, finite spirits—finite personalities in His image or like Himself (at however infinite an interval)—can both be made and make themselves; and He has constituted things and persons "as they are." What the spiritual is to come to, and how it comes to it, we see in Christ; and we can know no better and do no better than to come to it in that way and in Him.

We are prepared now to pass to the practical uses and applications which I avowed at the beginning. No one will accuse me of making too little of the human in Christ, or of the human side and part of ourselves in our relation with Christ; of faith and conversion, of hope and progressive holiness, of love as actual participation and manifestation of God. All these are terms which describe what I call the *subjective*—or the "ourselves" or "our part"—in our religion; though of course no

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Christian denies God's prior "Self" and part in them. In anything I may say on the other part I speak not against but in behalf of all the foregoing. It is indeed in behalf of myself, and because of the constant danger of an over-subjectivity, that I bring myself to magnify against it the counter truth of the objective in our common Christianity.

To touch in passing what would require a separate treatment all of its own—there is plausible excuse, if not full reason, for the disposition and effort to make a severance between the God of humanity as represented in Christ, and the Author or Power of creation and nature. To God in Christ "things," outside of humanity and its (in different senses) free acts, "are what they are, and their consequences will be what they will be." There is no changing creation or nature except through the minds and wills, the reason and freedom, of man. God works, and can work, only through the consent and co-operation of man, against alternately the powers and weaknesses of nature—the powers of objective and the weaknesses of subjective nature. Apart from that special form of it which we call grace, and which is at once divine and human, a combination of God's will and man's willingness, nothing whatever is or can be changed, produced, or accomplished in the relation and reaction between man and his environment which we call life. All that Jesus Christ Himself was, or could be and do, on earth, or in heaven, was through the union and unity, the necessary consent and co-operation, of the divine and the human in Him: only that could or did achieve the needed victory over sin and death and hell, and so accomplish the conditions and constituents of eternal life.

Under this point of view the God of humanity and of Christianity is not in any true sense the God of creation or of nature. He is only, in infinite love and sympathy and co-operation, striving with humanity against the inflexible and unchangeable outside and inside conditions

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that would hinder, overthrow or destroy it. This may be enough to suggest the case on the side of the plausible objection before referred to: that the God of Jesus Christ is the God only of human life, as against conditions of objective creation or nature over which He has no control.

The matter may be studied under the form of a careful analysis of the scriptural statement, "God spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all." The Son stands here, as always, as the exponent or representative of humanity and the implication is that He could not be spared because humanity cannot be spared the necessary conditions or process of its salvation. There are two possible reasons why it could not, and cannot, be spared. The one already given is: that the conditions are such, in facts of environment, in obstacles of creation and nature, as the God of humanity Himself cannot remove or evade, and can only be in us and with us to overcome and survive. God spared not His own Son—as Undertaker, Captain or Leader, Author and Finisher, of human salvation—any whatsoever of the circumstances—the weaknesses or impossibilities, the labour or pain, the doubts and fears and failures, the sufferings and death—to which humanity is subject,—simply because all these are prior and inevitable to both it and Him. All that He can and will and does do, is to give to humanity "a heart for any fate," a will to do and be in spite of all, patience and strength to endure, to survive, and outlive sin and evil and death itself.

Let us admit that our God cannot spare His Son, because He cannot spare humanity any more than the previous view allows. Is there not another explanation of the inability or impossibility? Is it not that the God Who determines all ends knows best the ways to those ends, and imposes upon Himself the best ways and means to His best ends? If creation as it is, nature as it is, and human nature as it is—with all their possi-

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bilities and actualities of good and evil, physical, moral, and spiritual—constitute the best ordeal, crucible, or what-not, for the evolution of (the occasioning, quickening, testing and proving, making or creating) finite spirit in the image and likeness of Himself, through its own rational and free participation of His own divine and eternal holiness, righteousness and life;—is not that sufficient justification and explanation of things as they are? Does it not become easier to believe that the divine Father of finite free spirit should not only not have spared His Son the experience of all the evils of nature and creation, but should have, of His own will and wisdom, subjected Him to them?

If God could not have prevented the possibility and existence of evil in all its forms, for the simple reason that the permission of them was necessary to the evolution and perfection of the highest good; yet God can and will see that that highest good shall—for all who will—be the final end of all the ill. But the present result is the fact that our God, the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, does present to us in this world of ours the aspect of One Who infinitely *would*, and finitely, constantly, *cannot*. God is always and infinitely seeking and striving to make the world of spirit His own and Himself; and the world is weakly and effectively rejecting and defeating His efforts. Nevertheless, He will not and cannot be Himself in the world without *us*, because His whole end in this world of *selves*, or of free spirits or persons, is not to be, to realize or fulfil, Himself, but Himself *in us*—and so *us* in Himself. Our Lord perfectly voiced His and Our Father when He cried from the depths of His heart: “Oh Jerusalem, Jerusalem—How *would* I, and ye *will not!*” Truly our God is an impotent God—so long as He persists in being Himself only in and with and through and by *us*—for our sakes, or the sakes of *us*.

But time counts not, and is not, in God's calculations.

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The task is before us not only individually and socially, to make ourselves, in and with and through, and by Him, as He gives Himself to us in Christ,—but to make ourselves in and with and by remaking this world for Him. How infinitely, at our best, we *would*, and *cannot!* The world hears not, heeds not, and goes on in its own way. But Jesus Christ despaired not—upon the Cross; and we cannot lower nor defeat for ever God's power and promise through our weakness and unwillingness: Time is long, and eternity is longer; and God is in heaven—yes, and on earth.

If we have succeeded, however little, in relating (for ourselves) our God to all His world;—let us come down now to the task of placing Him in our own little world upon this earth. God's special Word to this world and His Spirit in it are by no means to be dissevered from His Word and Spirit to and in all worlds. The Logos of one is the Logos of all, and the Spirit here is His Spirit everywhere. We know that there is one Reason and one Will in all the universe, and that all the parts work together in conformity to the one end of good to all. Nevertheless the way or mode of working is adapted to each part and to the particular character of each several process. God in relation with the finite spirit, with the personal reason and the free will of man, does not reveal or present Himself as He does as the God of material creation or of physical nature. It is indeed the God of humanity that we want to know—the God of all else only as the environment and condition of ourselves.

How Jesus Christ, *as such*—not as eternal and universal Logos or Word of all, but as Incarnate God and Divine Man—is the sole and all-inclusive object of human realization and fulfilment, is now as always the question before us. That He was the pre-eternal divine meaning or intention of us, or that He will be the post-eternal fulfilment and perfection of us, are not facts that

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so immediately concern us, as *how*, here and now, in the actual and vital process of being or becoming ourselves, we shall avail ourselves of, appropriate, and make Him ourselves, and make ourselves *Him*. This may be not the best way of saying it, but it is not too strong or extreme an expression of the fact; it is not stronger than eating and drinking, and so converting into ourselves, the body and blood, the life and death and life again, the divine humanity and human divinity of Jesus Christ. And it is just that, and all that, that our Christianity must mean to us and be to us—and be to us and in us here and now—or else it will be to us much less than nothing: if it is not our justification, it will be our condemnation; if not our salvation, then our damnation (however we may dislike the word).

To realize Christ! That and nothing else or less! How shall we do it? For only so shall Christianity ever be a reality or a power either in a human soul or in the world of humanity. As in others, so in that most vital and essential of all processes, there are apparently two ways, which in fact are only two parts or sides of the only One Way. And yet in our world of actual or practical these two parts or sides of the One and the Same Way are liable to be set in mutual not only exclusion but contradiction of each other. We may roughly express the two paths to the realization of Christ as the subjective and the objective ways,—though they are constantly and unconsciously running athwart and into each other.

Just as a true—or truer (true as possible)—subjective knowledge of God in general must rest predominantly upon what *we* have in common with Him, upon *our* part in Him; that is to say, upon God as immanent rather than as transcendent; just so the more subjective relation to Christ, appropriation of and oneness with Christ, will rest upon, predominantly, *our* part in Him, our faith, hope, and love, or our holiness, righteousness,

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and life. On the other hand, the more objective knowledge of God will dwell more upon God's part in the world and with ourselves, God as transcendent, as outside of and before, as the reason, meaning, cause and end of all things and of ourselves. And so too, the more objective sense and mode of relation to Christ will dwell more upon the objective or external facts or truth of Christ—*His* part with and in us, God incarnate, our regeneration, redemption, resurrection, and eternal life.

I have said enough upon the subjective, human side of Christ and of Christianity. I need in the interest, and for the better conservation of that subjectivity itself, to look away from it to the opposite, corresponding, and equally essential objectivity. And I shall try to do it by a series of practical illustrations in our Lord's life and our own. The youthful Jesus in His first recorded utterance struck a note which resounds throughout His earthly career, and which we would interpret and apply to ourselves. When for the first time the oft-since question arose, Where is He? His own answer was—and always is, Wist ye not that I must be in my Father's House? He may have meant then only the great and beautiful temple in Jerusalem which filled His mind and heart as His Father's Home. At either the beginning or end, or both, of His later ministry He abundantly manifested His sense of its sanctity: "The ~~zeal~~ of Thine house shall eat me up." But already the word and meaning of the temple had outgrown its earlier significance: "Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up." He was the Temple, the Temple was His Body, and in His person "The Lord was come to His Temple." He was in the deeper sense where He "must be"—in His Father's House, and that house and home was henceforth the "Flesh" in which God was incarnate, the Humanity in which He would dwell and be at home. The question shall come up again: Where is He now—after these two thousand years since then?

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And the answer must forever remain the same: Wist ye not that I must be in my Father's House? Again,—when “He spake of the temple of His body” which He should raise from the dead, He may immediately have meant only His natural body. But again too, as of the temple, so of the body, the word and meaning have outgrown its earlier significance. The temple of Christ's body is His Church, it is the “All of humanity that will”—into which He has entered and which enters with Him into the oneness of the life of God.

Suppose that—instead of “in my Father's house,” as before—we take the other translation, “in the things of my Father,” or “about my Father's business.” In that, as in the other, we may trace a single persistent note running through the life. What was His Father's business to which already He was giving Himself with singleness of heart and mind and will? We see Him not until eighteen years after publicly and officially entering upon it; and in the circumstances and the meaning to Himself of His own Baptism we may undertake to interpret what it was He was called and undertook to do—and in all His life and death and resurrection *did*. We may adopt His own words: “Thus it behooveth us to fulfil all righteousness.”

“To fulfil all righteousness” expresses precisely what humanity *must* do for itself and *cannot* do of itself;—and also precisely what Jesus Christ did for it and does in it. And equally baptism reveals and confers the precise *Quo Modo*. The heavens were opened, the Spirit descended, the voice of God uttered the word, “This is my beloved Son, in Whom I am well pleased!” It makes not one particle of difference how much this account of the event is either literal or symbolical: the fact or matter is eternally true. And what I say of this, I say of other events in our Lord's transaction of His Father's business. In the person of Jesus Christ the heavens opened, the Spirit descended, the words were

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spoken to Humanity on that occasion. He was there not merely in its stead, or in its behalf, but as Itself. The incarnation which our Lord, both humanly and divinely, was enacting and accomplishing [for the act of incarnation did not end in His birth but proceeded through regeneration, redemption, and resurrection into eternal life], was not to be into a bit, or an individual, of our race or nature—as Jesus alone—but into humanity as Christ and Christ as humanity. The words “This is my beloved Son in Whom I am well pleased” were not spoken of God but of man in our Lord, and they were not intended to express a love or a good pleasure of the Father to Him which was the consequence, so much as one which was the source and cause, of what He was. Even our Lord was only secondarily Beloved Son because of what He was in Himself in the flesh, and primarily and causally was what He was because He was beloved Son.

Let us trace the order of our Lord’s own mind in the matter. In all His previous thirty years, no doubt, in due measure and growth,—but now decisively and practically, in this culmination and crisis of His baptism,—the *Thing* faced Him in the form—which we may also define or express as the *objective truth* or fact—of Baptism in general. Baptism is God’s word of His Fatherhood in terms (or in *the* term) of our, of human, sonship. What was the business, the task, the work, imposed upon the human Jesus—implicitly, of course, by and from His birth, but now explicitly and formally by His baptism? It was, first, individually and personally, to realize or make good the objective fact of the Divine Fatherhood in the subjective fact of His human Sonship—it was to *be* Son of God subjectively through *knowing* Himself Son of God objectively—or through knowing God as His Father. That the Sonship of God was the question as to fact of baptism becomes evident at once. Our Lord goes into the wilderness, there to face

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and assume His task, incipiently to *realize* it: i.e. to realize it in faith as "The Way" of realizing it in fact, the way to make the objective subjective, to make the divine human. And instantly the inevitable temptation, the universal question, assails Him: Am I, are we, is humanity—Son of God? If so, why only these stones in the wilderness, this hunger and drought in the desert, these wild beasts and savage enemies in the way to the promised land? When humanity asks of its Father a loaf, does He give it a stone, when it asks an egg, a scorpion, or a fish, a serpent?—I fear He does: but He knows why He does: and we by now ought to know it. Only so can we learn not to live by bread alone, but by the Word of God: the Word that calls us away from sight and sense to higher ends and aims of spirit. "The kingdom of God is not meat and drink." Our Lord's one word of response to all temptation was: "My meat and drink is to do the will of Him that sent Me!"—until He could say with His last breath, that His work was "finished," His Father's business accomplished. Not that that business was simply to accomplish in His own person, as Jesus of Nazareth, the Fatherhood of God in the sonship of man. It was not alone to reveal and manifest that sonship in Himself; it was not only to reveal but to communicate and to impart. He was to baptize with the baptism wherewith He was baptized. He was Himself the Baptism of the world, and was to baptize "all us the rest" with and into Himself, so that all that baptism was in Him it should mean in and be to us—death in the flesh and eternal life in the spirit. The temptation is still with us—as it was with Him: How can God be in a Man—how can be, and *is*, God in the world of man—in the face of everything that contradicts and makes it impossible to be so: How can we all with the One Man say in truth, "Our Father Who art in heaven!"—In a sense we may say, and say truly: When we all like Him will *take* it so, we all shall *make*

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it so. But in a sense that is higher, or highest, that is only true because on God's part, as seen in Christ, it essentially and eternally *is so*, and only waits on us, by knowing and taking, to make it so on our part also.

In the earthly person of Jesus Christ, all the subjective human elements of our relation with God, in the form of Faith, Obedience, and Sacrifice, are clearly visible to us in all their perfection. But His own human eyes are not upon these in Himself; they are all upon the objects, or Object, of these in God, or The Father,—the objective grounds, causes, and conditions of these subjective responses and affections in Himself. We see supremely in Him that the Way *to be*, in ourselves, and to be ourselves,—is to be out of ourselves in Him.

Turning from the life of our Lord to that of His Apostles and disciples, St. Paul above all others might have been expected to interpret and apply *subjectively* the truth as he saw it in and received it from Jesus. And certainly in none is the subjective or human side of the life in Christ more clearly developed and exhibited; but also in none is the need and fact of the objective *being in Christ* more recognized and insisted upon. The objective being in Christ by baptism is on a par with him with the transcendent being of God in Christ, or the Father in the Son, by incarnation: they are equally essential parts of one divine human act and operation. Baptism was with St. Paul as divine an act or fact as the human birth or resurrection of Jesus Christ: by it he saw himself not only *de jure* and *de facto* no longer "in himself" but "in Christ,"—but, in Christ, "dead to sin and alive to God." To do that on his part was simply to do what Christ had done (only unto a perfection impossible for St. Paul)—namely, *take God at His word*, and, by so taking, make it a truth or fact to himself.

There is a passage in St. Paul (Eph. 4 : 9) which I hold to be susceptible of two modes of translation—not both intended, but both possible and both not only

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true but necessary to each other—I will give these, freely, in succession. *First*—speaking of our Lord's *Ascension*—"that He ascended, what is it but that He (first) descended," etc. The meaning would be sufficiently suggested by St. John's similar saying (St. John 3 : 13): "No man hath ascended into heaven but He Who descended out of heaven," etc. The *second* translation is: "That He ascended, what is it, if He did not also descend. He that descended is the same also that ascended in order that He might (return and) fill all things (with Himself)." All that Christ did in and through His first coming—life, death, resurrection, and ascension—was in preparation for His coming again to be in His Body of humanity or the Church—all that He had done and been for it in the natural body of His flesh on earth. "I baptized with water," said John the Baptist,—"*This* is He that shall baptize with the Holy Ghost." That baptism of God and into God, by His Word and Spirit, is just the function of Christ and of Christianity. To stop short of it is to cut off the Incarnation at the very beginning of its work. To make baptism a mere *opus operatum* in the void and empty sense so often applied to it is of course not only an insult to God but the greatest robbery and injury we can possibly inflict upon ourselves. But now let us look at the matter on the other side. When Jesus was baptized, was not the act performed upon Him—in the descent and abiding upon Him of the Holy Ghost—and the Word spoken to Him from heaven, Thou art my Son,—was not all this, both to Him and in fact, an *opus operatum*? And when St. Paul was baptized, *was* it not to him *what* it meant—the real and actual being in Christ, and in all that Christ means, the death to himself and to sin and the life in God and holiness? Why was baptism an *opus operatum* to them? Because, we say, they saw it so, because to them what God *says, is*, because God's words are not signs, grammatical vocables, but *things*—

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they *are* precisely what they say. We say, I repeat, that it was so to them *because* they believed; well, ought we not all to believe in the same way?—And that “*because*” needs a good deal of explanation and discrimination.

There are two senses of “*because*”: there is a real or *causal* cause, and a medial or conditional cause. God is not God because even Jesus, with His perfect faith, believed in Him; Jesus believed because God *is* God. Christ was not all that He was, either to St. Paul or as St. Paul, because St. Paul believed in Him—but *vice versa*. Baptism is not *only* what *we* see in it or believe in it, *how* we take it or *what* we make it. Baptism is a Word, an Act, of God—which *in us* depends infinitely and eternally upon how we take or what we make it; but which in itself is what it says—God in Christ to us, and we in Christ to God—the free gift of God’s own self to us, to be by us eternally accepted or eternally rejected.

I am not just now concerned with the no doubt immense danger and evil of the losing *opus operatum*—trusting to a mere baptism in the letter or the sign. I am concerned about the equal opposite danger and evil of our being blind to and losing the right *opus operatum*: the not seeing and receiving baptism in the spirit, the not seeing and knowing it as on a par with, part of the same process with, *one* with Incarnation itself: Christ in the great body of our common humanity as of even greater truth than in the individual body of His flesh; because the latter was but the preparation and the means, the former is the real accomplishment and end.

But the most immediate point of all is this: transcendental or immanental in our philosophy or theology, subjective or objective in our faith and religion, Protestant or Catholic in our bent or facing,—let us realize that we are looking in opposite directions for the same thing; and that The Thing is in fact on both sides and on

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all sides of us. Let us turn from emphasizing and embittering our differences to recognizing and cultivating and enlarging our agreements. Let us fight a false objectivity only with a truer objectivity, or a false subjectivity with only a truer subjectivity. Let us aim only to *give* what is true in our greater freedom—individualism, liberalism, or protestantism—to the great Fact and Truth of Catholicity;—or, on the other hand, what we know and feel to be true and necessary in Catholicism to those who in the One only Christ are taking liberties inconsistent with the unity of His Person and His Church.

The New Realism and its Bearing on Theism

BY FREDERICK ROBER TENNANT, D.D.,

*Lecturer in Theology and Fellow of Trinity College,
Cambridge.*

The defence of the theistic view of the world must necessarily vary somewhat according to the nature of the philosophical systems with which that view is from time to time most directly confronted.

From the middle of the nineteenth century onwards almost to its close, the chief foe which theism encountered was the naturalism or the agnosticism which grew out of the common adoption of the mechanical theory of the world. Science, in those days as yet unchastened by criticism, from within its own circle of representative teachers, of its presuppositions and of its shorthand symbolism which was often mistaken for a descriptive copy of reality behind the veil of phenomena, very naturally came, in the minds of its students, to be regarded, as all-sufficient, self-contained, and self-explanatory; and its abstract theories thus seemed to constitute the one and only possible world-philosophy. During that period, when Mach's writings were little known in English-speaking countries, and H. Poincaré's were as yet not forthcoming, the defence of theism necessarily consisted largely in the negative task of shewing the supposed demurrers of science to be beside the mark, and in proving that much that was commonly supposed to be part and parcel of demonstrated scientific truth was really nothing

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of the sort. If spiritualism could be maintained to be a possible theory, for all that science proper had to say, a basis whence to proceed to the theistic view was felt to be secured; and, so far as the opposition of science falsely so-called was concerned, nothing further needed to be attempted.

From the view that the universe is a world of spiritual existents, or at least includes such beings, however, to the view that all finite spirits came from, and could have communion with, a supreme and divine Spirit, was a step. And when systems of spiritualistic pluralism became rife, such as those of McTaggart in Britain and of Howison in America—systems which dispensed with or denied a creative God such as Christian theism, at least, requires—it became incumbent on theism to justify its claim to offer the best intellectual solution of the world-problem by quite other arguments than those by means of which it overcame the opposition of scientific naturalism. Theism then required to state precisely how far it could accept a real Many, as against the sterile One of absolute monisms with which Christian theology, throughout its history, had often been closely and even disastrously associated. At the same time its defenders needed to point out in what respects it afforded satisfaction to intellectual as well as religious needs which non-theistic, but yet spiritualistic, pluralism could not meet.

When, in turn, pragmatism became a prominent tendency of thought, theism, at least of the more intellectualistic types, had to seek to deliver itself from the somewhat embarrassing and over-demonstrative ministrations of a friend, and to urge that moral arguments, or arguments based on value-judgments and the will to believe, were an insecure foundation for religious faith unless laid on the rock-bed of theoretical knowledge or scientific probability.

In recent years another philosophical system has come to the forefront, both in America and in Britain:

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viz., the new realism, of which there are several particular forms. And inasmuch as this philosophy, both on its critical and on its positive or constructive sides, bears on matters relevant to theistic apologetic, it has now become desirable that these bearings should be apprehended by the educated public in so far as it is interested in theological questions, and especially by theological students. It is also important that theism, thus confronted with a new philosophical environment, should ascertain in what respects, if any, its own position is newly challenged; and, if its position be so challenged, that it should think out what answer it should render. Criticism of the fundamental tenets of the new realism can only be undertaken by a professed philosopher: indeed the points involved are highly technical, intricate, subtle, and disputable. But the theologian is not exempt from the requirement that he face every movement of thought in so far as it has reference to his own convictions and methods, and that he estimate its claims as critically as he can enable himself to do; while contact with the new philosophy may serve the useful as well as necessary purpose of provoking him to develop certain ideas and lines of argument on which previously he may scarcely have needed to lay particular stress.

These tasks do not yet seem to have been systematically undertaken by theologians, or by philosophers *quâ* theists. And it is in the hope that I may stimulate others more competent for the work than I myself can claim to be, that I undertake to offer a contribution to such descriptive, critical, and constructive effort as is called for. In the present article I would therefore endeavour to sketch, in as non-technical a manner as so difficult a subject will allow, the fundamental doctrines of the new realism, reserving, for the most part, for a future communication, discussion of their bearing upon theistic apologetic.

It may be observed at once that the new realism comes

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into relation with the theistic view of the world in the following specific respects. Firstly, if true, it disposes of the spiritualistic metaphysic according to which all existents are, ultimately or noumenally, spirits or minds of some kind and in some degree: a metaphysic which as we have already seen, whether in its pluralistic or its monistic form, has generally been regarded as one of the widest gateways to theism, and has sometimes even been held to be the only gate through which we may pass, as philosophers, to assured theistic belief. Secondly, the new realism, if it be a well-grounded philosophy, disposes of all monistic theories of the world, absolute or non-absolute, and implies a pluralistic universe. Moreover, in some of the forms in which it is presented, the pluralism to which the new realism conducts, is what may be called the "chaotic pluralism" suggested in the writings of Hume. This leads to the third respect in which the new philosophy has relevancy to theistic belief: the new realism renounces, in its method, the use of any such principle as that of Sufficient Reason. It leaves on our hands a universe of independent entities—terms (or substances) and relations—and innumerable ungrounded coincidences. It does not explain why any entities enter into this relation, which we actually find to subsist, and not into that, which we do not find; or enter into two contrary relations at once. More than this: because its logic is essentially confined to analysis, it will have nothing to do with understanding in the sense of interpreting. All desire for such interpretation, in which theism essentially consists, and by which it is intellectually motivated, some new realists at least decry as a mere sentimental need incidental to man but negligible by the philosopher. Fourthly, American realists, here in sharp conflict with the leaders of realism in Britain, follow William James in repudiating consciousness as an unique entity: or, to drop the abstraction "consciousness" for the concrete spiritual subject with a mental

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life, they tend to deny that the subject is anything *sui generis*, and that conscious process is aught but a relation between what are called "objects." This does not imply materialism exactly; for those who hold this view as to consciousness are generally neutral monists, hylozoists, or something of kindred kind. But inasmuch as neutral or scientific monism has already had a history, and has shown itself generally to prove a half-way house on the main road to materialism, it remains to be seen whether the new teaching as to consciousness or the subject of experience will maintain its equilibrium, or whether it will totter to the one side or the other, the spiritualistic or the materialistic. At present, one may venture to say, the materialistic trend would seem to be predominant, notwithstanding professions to the contrary; and herein is a matter of grave import in so far as theism is concerned. Lastly, in refusing to recognize as knowledge any conclusion not reached exclusively by the analytical method and the new logic or logistic (roughly identical with the logic used to-day in mathematical science) some new realists profess agnosticism as to all human hopes such as those of optimism, God, and immortality. Nescience, not denial; unprovenness, not falsity; this is the attitude of the new realist, and his characterization of theistic convictions.

Such, then, are the chief respects in which the new philosophy has bearing upon theism; and it will be our task, on a future occasion, to endeavour to exhibit the reasonableness of theistic faith as confronted with the particular realistic tenets just enumerated. For the present, however, attention will need to be devoted to the philosophical doctrines which constitute the realistic system, and to the grounds on which they are respectively based. Only when this has been done will any estimate be possible, for one who is relatively a layman in philosophical matters, of the strength of the claim of some realists to exclude theism from philosophy properly so called.

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The new realism originated as a protest against idealistic theories of knowledge such as led to spiritualistic metaphysic. It may perhaps be said to have been born in an article by Dr. G. E. Moore of Cambridge on *The Refutation of Idealism*, in which was emphasized the distinction, often overlooked by idealists of the Berkleyan type, between an object apprehended and the mental act or process in which that object is apprehended. One case of this distinction is that between the *sensum* and the *sensatio*, which Mach and his English expounder, K. Pearson, *e. g.*, among recent writers, seem altogether to overlook. The American neo-realism similarly takes its logical origin in a protest against the idealist's abuse of what Prof. Perry has called the "ego-centric predicament": by which is meant the fact that every known object is an object for a knower, or that we actually only know things as they are for a subject of experience, or as they are when they stand in the cognitional relation to us. Both these writers have rightly pointed out that from this fact we cannot directly deduce idealism. It is equally obvious that we cannot immediately deduce the realistic opinion that things, when not being apprehended, are exactly as they are when being apprehended, or that the epistemological object is identical with the psychological object.

A further negative development, leading at the same time to the foundation of positive counterviews, consisted in the repudiation of the monistic theory of truth: the view, that is to say, that truth is coherence, or that the truth is an organic or significant whole, each separate and partial truth being conditioned by the totality of which it forms a part. As against this false logic, as it was held to be, of monism, the new school joined in the elaboration, and restricted themselves to the use, of the new logic or logistic—a pure science embracing mathematics. If this logic should be capable of application to the things of the actual world, as contrasted with the

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terms, etc. defined *ad hoc* (after the manner of Euclid's points, etc.) for the purpose of the logic itself, it would allow that the actual world is a pluralistic world. Realists believe the actual world to be patient of this logic. Hence a thorough-going pluralism became an essential and important part of the realistic system. Repudiation of the monistic logic also led on to, or involved, the doctrine that relations are external. However, it would not be useful for our purpose, even if it were possible, to trace the chronological development of the realistic philosophy, and the order in time of the emergence of its several doctrines. It would be more suitable to present them rather in order of their logical priority, though this also would be difficult, so closely are they mutually interdependent.

From this point of view, perhaps the cardinal tenet of the new realism, and one as to which probably all divergent schools of realism are agreed, is that, in all cognition, the object known is independent of the subject knowing. This, as was said just now, cannot be derived from introspection; indeed for psychology, subject and object are correlatives. The mind may, unbeknown to itself, not photograph but paint, what it sees; so that there is no colour without sight. The realistic tenet is therefore a theory, a presupposition, to be estimated by its consequences. Prof. Perry has enumerated the cases of what realism is to understand by independence; and if his enumeration be exhaustive, the relation of object to subject cannot be a relation of dependence. If, however, as many philosophers maintain, the relation of subject and object be unique, and incapable of reduction to any of the four kinds of independence which Prof. Perry discovers, the mutual interdependence of subject and object is not disproved. However this may be, realism holds that things are what they seem; that experience makes no difference to the facts; that there is no distinction between appearance and reality. This

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theory involves that all illusions are real; and that, not in the psychological sense, which no one disputes, but in respect of their existence being independent of all apprehension. Dream-objects of the weirdest kind—*e. g.*, the Kantian categories growing in one's kitchen garden and bearing carrot or turnip tops—must also be real in the sense that they exist or subsist somehow otherwise than merely in the mind. Even the round square and the unthinkable thought have some sort of "being" independent of the subject for whom they are objects; though some realists have come to deny being of any sort to objects of this kind. In the latter case, however, the possibility of mental objects would seem to be admitted; though ideas and mental images and all such intermediaries between the subject, with his "diaphanous" consciousness, and a real physical object (of perception, memory, etc.) are dispensed with by realists generally. The thin end of the wedge—in the form of self-contradictory ideas which must be purely mental—being admitted into realism, it is difficult to see how it can be logically prevented from being driven in further. However, the wedge must be resisted in the interests of the realistic theory of knowledge, according to which the cognitional relation, in all its different forms of perception, memory, judgment, etc., is one and the same, *viz.*, direct awareness without distortion or colouring, like vision through plate-glass; and such resistance, especially in the defence of the "reality" or, as some would say, the "subsistence," of the illusory, has involved the realist in the upholding of many paradoxes by means which certainly do not lack ingenuity.

This revolt against idealism of every form is of theological significance solely through its involving repudiation of spiritualistic metaphysics. The pluralistic universe, for the realist, is no world of Leibnizian monads, or of exclusively spiritual beings. Its members are what they seem, and cannot be other than what immediate

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apprehension pronounces them to be. We do not see through a glass darkly, but face to face. The world is not phenomenal, for all appearance is reality. The question raised for theism is, therefore, whether, supposing spiritualism—the doctrine that all reality is spirit, despite appearance to the contrary—be disproved by realism, the theistic position is thereby invalidated. It may be argued that spiritualism is no *sine qua non* for a theistic interpretation of the world, though one eminent spiritualist and theist, at least, has maintained that it is. It is hard to see why there may not be physical or material reality, as well as mental or spiritual, in God's universe. If He can create and control free spirits, much more can He create and use matter; and why may not matter be a means of communication between spirit and spirit, and (as the Christian sacraments are generally understood to imply) a vehicle for the influence of God on finite souls? Nor is it necessary to postulate two, and two only, primary principles, as dualism does. For all that it matters to the theist, the realist is surely welcome to as many types of ultimate ontological principles as his pluralism leads him to imagine. The world may still be a realm of ends, a revelation of the Good, a self-manifestation and self-communication of a Supreme Spirit to His spiritual creatures, a theatre of moral and spiritual evolution. This is surely all that theism needs to ask with regard to the world; and, however questionable be the scholastic dialectic by which realism seeks to prove that the world presents itself to us simply and nakedly as it is, and as not clothed upon by any vesture of our subjectivity, its finding that spiritualism is not an exhaustive account of the universe would seem to call for no remonstrance from theism, and for no reconstruction or change of front on the part of theistic apologetic.

Closely connected with the theory of the relation between subject and object, as just described, is the realistic doctrine that all (perhaps certain realists would be con-

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tent to say some) relations are external, not intrinsic or internal. That relations are internal, means that they are grounded in the natures of the terms which they relate; and that, in order to enter into a new relation, the term must somewhat change. If relations be external, on the other hand, a term can remain self-identical while its relations to other terms change. The knowledge-relation must be external, if the realistic theory of knowledge be true; hence the zeal of realism to deny any but external relations, lest haply the knowledge-relation be found to be of the type called "internal." The whole question is one of great difficulty; and apart from the logic as a whole, of which the doctrine of the externality of relations forms a part, it would seem to have no relevance to the theistic problem. The doctrine of external relations implies the non-actuality of organic wholes, or unities, which include more than the sum of their terms and the relations subsisting between them; but this too, is immaterial to theism. It would seem also to imply that the elements of the world, the final products of analysis, the actual entities which correspond to the "terms" of pure logic, are devoid of natures or traits, and that the things of common sense acquire all character through the relations into which these ultimate elements enter. But whether this be a right interpretation of realistic teaching or not, the old categories of substance and attribute are eschewed, and those of terms and relations are substituted for them. Further, relations are objective, real, not mine-made; and they are sometimes spoken of as if they had "subsistence" apart from the terms between which they may subsist.

Here Realism takes a side with reference to the old and difficult problem as to whether the valid (*e. g.* relations) is also real, independently of that of which it is valid. This is a question which turns up now and again in philosophical theology; notably in connexion with the problem of evil and the divine omnipotence. If, for in-

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stance, the laws of God are valid for God as for man, laws to which He, as Creator, must needs conform in framing His universe; or, if they "subsist" as a logical prius to any created objects which must conform to them: then there is an easy way open to the theist when confronted with the old dilemma that the existence of evil points either to the non-omnipotence, or else to the non-benevolence, of the Deity. It does not then follow that there are no inherent impossibilities for God, or that the evil of the world must be grounded in the divine nature and not be repugnant to the divine will, though it is perhaps logically involved in the creation of a world such as, by its uniformity, offers a possible theatre for moral life and progress.

The realistic contention that the valid is real independently of the terms as to which it is valid, then, can, if well-grounded, be serviceable to theism at a point where precisely lies its greatest *crux*. But the contention is very disputable. If it be inadmissible, theism can none the less find a way out of the dilemma just now mentioned; viz., by appealing to the truth that its God is no Absolute Idea, or any abstraction such as Greek philosophy bequeathed to the Fathers and Schoolmen; but a living, and therefore determinate, Being, with a nature. Theism would be wise to choose the latter of these ways of escape; for the realistic doctrine that the ultimate elements of reality must be natureless, and that their complexes must be constituted as qualitative entities by the relations into which those elements enter, is precarious. Moreover it seems to lead to rigid determinism, from which again theism naturally recoils. But this short and summary notice of the bearings of the doctrine that relations are wholly external has already carried us on to another fundamental tenet of realism, such as serves better to afford insight into the mentality of those who whole-heartedly embrace the realistic logic.

This is the doctrine that analysis is adequate to actual-

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ity; in other words, the assumption that the actual world is such that the discrete methods of logic can be applied to it and are valid of it. Realism maintains the validity of the method of abstraction, and asserts that it yields the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth: it never falsifies. We have already observed the abhorrence which realism has of mental objects, such as ideas and images as contrasted with things with which (in thought, memory, dream-experiences, etc.) the mind is in direct and immediate cognitive relation. Now abstractions are commonly held to exist only in the mind; i. e., as mental objects, having no actuality. Realists, on the other hand, frequently maintain that whatever the mind can distinguish, is a separable existent or actuality. Thus one writer in *The New Realism* argues that a length, as distinguished from a thing having such and such a length, can be actual to the extent of being a cause; and relations are sometimes spoken of as if, existing equally in their own right and substantiality with the terms between which they subsist, they lie in wait for terms to "enter into" them. What may be meant by "entering into," in this connexion, it is hard to conceive; especially as realists do not tell us whether, in speaking of relations, they mean *Verhältnisse* or *Beziehungen*, or both.

What a thing is as actual and determinate, apart from its relations, is also hard to conceive; and the view that relations are not on a par with terms (psychologically, they are not apprehended by the same process, but are grounded or founded in them, terms and relations each being non-actual apart from the other) is a more plausible view, and one which has perhaps never been satisfactorily refuted. But realistic analysis is not content with resolving complex actualities (aggregates, i. e.; for it dogmatically denies that there are any actual "unities" or organic wholes) into simpler, and at length analysable, entities; it proceeds to resolve everything

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intrinsic into relations of elements external to one another, each element being constituted by its relations. It does not shew how such an element is distinguishable from a bare nothing. But it can easily be seen, from what has been said, that pluralism is a fundamental outcome of such realism; and indeed some realists who set out from Platonism have retained their realistic pluralism while casting off much of their realism. It is further difficult to see how the doctrine that what the mind can distinguish must in actuality be separable, can be aught but a dogmatic assertion made in the interests of the application of realistic logic to the actual world. Empirically, of course, we know of no relationless entities, and of no termless relations waiting to be entered into. It is further an assumption, and a very disputable one, that there are any entities in the actual world corresponding to the self-identical "terms" of logistic; and the view seems to many to lead only to absurdity. At any rate, until the purely mental object receives more effectual banishment from the actual world than realists have striven to give it, many will continue to hold that abstractions such as realism hypostatizes are mind-made, and exist only "in the mind." All this may seem remote from connexion with theism, save in its implication of a pluralistic universe and of the reality of the "many" alongside, at least, with the theist's One.

But in seeming to resolve all actuality into discrete elements, bound together only by logical relations and causal laws, realism seems to strike a blow at the conception of evolution as distinct from perpetual substitution or re-creation, at change as contrasted with alteration or succession, at the real duration which is involved in personal identity and in experience such as is continuous in the ordinary, non-mathematical, sense. Realism resolves a man into a class of instantaneous beings, comparable to the successive photographs which together constitute the man on the cinema sheet. And this is

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not a doctrine which theism can lightly accept. For this reason the realistic logic, or rather its applicability to the actual world, has been presented here in some fulness, and its disputableness emphasized in some detail.

But of the pluralism to which realistic philosophy leads, more remains to be said. It will have been gathered that it is a pluralism of the "chaotic" kind; i. e., no reason is assigned, and none is apparently assignable, by realism, for terms entering into these relations rather than those, or for all that seems, in virtue of its order (an idea of which realism makes much) to suggest the activity of an ordering Mind behind the universe. Realism eschews all principles such as that of Sufficient Reason. It presents us with a universe of terms and relations, which is as meaningless as the universe depicted by naturalism; and, further, it sometimes decries all search for meaning, all attempt at interpretation, because the analytic method excludes all such search. It is content to leave the actual groupings of Nature's elements which empirical investigation discovers, as inexplicable; and to call all such philosophy as seeks to establish an interpretation, mere anthropomorphic and futile effort. This may not be the attitude of every realist; it certainly seems to be that of the best known representative of realism in Britain. Inasmuch as theism is not the result of the analytic understanding, but the outcome of interpretive reason in man, it here finds itself branded as an effusion of anthropomorphism and sentimentality. This is the most important of all the respects in which realism has relevance to theistic thought; but one the discussion of which must for the present be reserved. In a future contribution I hope to endeavour to justify as reasonable, if not in the realistic sense rational, the human attempt to explain or interpret the world in terms of categories of thought derived from man's own experience and life; to maintain that the best of such efforts is the theistic philosophy: and so to assign reasons for rejecting the real-

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ist's agnosticism or professed nescience as to such truths as those by which religion lives.

Meanwhile we may complete here our brief account of the characteristic features of the new realism, as a system of coherent and interdependent views, by considering its doctrine of consciousness. Here we come upon a feature peculiar to American neo-realism, and a point as to which the leaders of realistic philosophy in England hold views divergent from those of the countrymen of William James. It is the doctrine of the philosopher just named that may with much truth be said to supply the starting-point for the various views as to the nature of consciousness, or of the subject of experience, which, differing in detail but alike in substance, have been advanced by several of the writers of *The New Realism*.

Briefly, this doctrine is that consciousness is an external relation between objects, or things; there is no unique subject, mental or spiritual, which alone can have awareness or apprehension; what is at one time object can at another time be subject. Apparently the nervous system is credited with playing the rôle which psychologists have hitherto generally believed to require, in human beings, the abiding spiritual subject of which common-sense and psychology speak. In the first instance, the American neo-realist tends to replace the word "subject" by "consciousness," an abstract term which he has to personify, and to regard an individual's experience or mental *βλος* as all "contents" without any *continens*. Consciousness is said to be a specific form of reaction of the nervous system. But there are reactions and reactions in the physical and physiological worlds; and as to the specific nature of awareness or attention, as distinct from other specific reactions, silence is preserved: the fact is ignored.

Prof. Holt regards consciousness, thus considered as "contents," as a cross-section of the world selected by the responsive nervous system, and as not residing in a

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mind, in the ordinary sense of the word, but rather "out there" in the world where the objects are. A cross-section is a class formed from members of a given manifold by some elective principle (which can only be the nervous system itself), distinct from the principles which have organized the manifold.

Such a theory seems to imply that consciousness is an otiose thing in the world, of no more importance than any other relation between physical objects. Realism in general implies that not all reality is spiritual; but this crowning doctrine of American neo-realism seems to involve denial of anything spiritual at all. This is the materialistic tendency of American realism, alluded to on an earlier page. And if materialism be repudiated by writers holding such a theory of consciousness, it would seem that not much more than the name is discarded. The nervous system being the only subject, and being material or at any rate not spiritual, consciousness and spirit are dethroned from the position which philosophy has usually accorded to them, and which, for the truth and significance of theism, it would seem essential that they should enjoy.

The theory of consciousness which has just been sketched, is perhaps an elaboration of the suggestion of William James, that consciousness, in the sense in which the term had generally been used by psychologists, does not exist. James did not doubt the existence of consciousness as a function, of course; but he seemed to think that, if the usual idea of consciousness be assumed, there is no alternative to regarding its subject as a substantial soul, after the manner of the old rationalists. This was a gratuitous error. The subject is one thing; the kind of substantiality to be attributed to it, quite another. Indeed a subject which is not material remains an indispensable concept; and this is well shewn by the difficulties which those who endeavour to dispense with it always encounter. They have, from the time of

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Hume until the present day, been compelled to assume it in order to explain it away. They only appear to themselves not to do so, I am inclined to believe, by committing the "psychologist's fallacy," or by confusing the standpoint of the individual's experience (at the moment of his experience) with the standpoint of that experient at a later time, or, what is the same thing, with that of universal experience. When consciousness is said to be a relation between objects, the term "object" is used in the epistemological, not the psychological sense; and the former sense is treated as if it were identical with the latter. But the two cannot be identified; and the psychological standpoint, from which all objects are only contents for the experient himself as *continens*, is really, if not logically, presupposed by the standpoint of science. The psychological heresy which has been called "presentationism" lies at the root of all attempts, ancient and recent, to regard consciousness as an external relation between objects, and to be a body of contents in abstraction from any subject who alone has them and thereby renders them capable of being properly called "contents" at all.

The psychologist's fallacy, as William James called it, is of somewhat frequent occurrence in the collection of essays entitled *The New Realism*; and it seems to be a cornerstone in its theory of consciousness.

Other objections to this doctrine have been urged recently by Mr. Russell which may here briefly be repeated. In the first place, the doctrine in question fails to explain the difference between the seeing of a colour and the patch of colour seen: between the *sensatio* which is generally regarded as a mental process and the *sensum* which is non-mental. Further, the doctrine, as expounded by Prof. Montague, assumes that false beliefs have some sort of non-mental existence or being in the actual world—a view which, I believe, Mr. Russell, when more pronouncedly a realist than he now is, once shared.

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There is no such thing, he now says, as the unreal; and if as Prof. Montague maintains, the false is the unreal, then the existence of falsehood is denied. Again, the theory provides no place for timeless entities; it finds itself in difficulties when called upon to explain desire and emotion; in having numerically to identify a present act of remembering with a past event, it cannot give a satisfactory account of memory; it is compelled to deny that we experience or apprehend our own conscious processes or experiences, though this seems a plain and indisputable fact of introspection. When to these objections it is further added that the neo-realistic theory of consciousness cannot account for the fact that there are minds as distinguished from mind—minds which experience many things that cannot be directly experienced by other minds—and has to commit the psychologist's fallacy once more in endeavouring to deny this relative imperviousness or individuality of each mind, it will appear that the theory is unable to offer an explanation of, or to find room for, many of the phenomena which are most characteristic of consciousness as it is known to us through introspection. It is not capable, therefore, of being taken, in its present unsatisfying and much criticized form, as a sufficiently stable foe for theism to deem it worth while to do battle with: even some realists reject it, and no two authorities who accept it seem to accept it in quite the same form. Were it a well based and consistent theory, theism would practically now be confronted once more with materialism; for to all intents and purposes a universe in which consciousness is an accidental relation between material objects, and of which the human nervous system is the crown, is scarcely any better starting-point for theistic argument than the fatalistic world-machine, the idea of which oppressed like a nightmare many thoughtful minds half a century or more ago. Theism, after the serious warfare which it had to wage

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for its very existence in the last century, will to-day have less dread of a philosophy which is not a materialism, but only—and that not in the intention of its framers—materialistically inclined; it will not need to take its foe at his own valuation and flee before him to irrationalism, fideism, and mysticism: nor, fearfully isolating itself from metaphysic and science, as if these were irrelevant to its own intellectual foundation, will it be driven, like decadent scholasticism, and perhaps some of the more recent types of Ritschlian theology, to the disastrous doctrine of “the double truth.”

The Orthodox Church of Jerusalem

BY IVAN IVANOVICH SOKOLOFF,

Professor of the Ecclesiastical Academy in Petrograd.

The Church of Jerusalem occupies the fourth place in the number of the autocephalous patriarchates of the Orthodox East. This canonical position was definitely established in 692, by the Council of Trullo, the thirty-sixth canon rule of which establishes that the patriarchal see of Jerusalem comes after the sees of Constantinople, Alexandria and Antioch. During the epoch of the Ecumenical Councils, the patriarchal see of Jerusalem included Palestine and some bordering lands. The official title of the patriarch of Jerusalem, as it is pronounced to this day bears witness to this: "The most Blissful, most Divine, most holy Father and Patriarch of the holy city of Jerusalem and all Palestine, Syria and Arabia, of the Transjordan lands, of Galilean Canna and the holy Sion, Lord and Master." But subsequently the sphere of the patriarchate of Jerusalem came to be limited to Palestine, the territory of which actually contains the orthodox church of Jerusalem in our days. Within these narrow limits, however, in olden days there developed an intense and productive church life, which flourished most in the variety of its own self definition.

The church of Jerusalem, whose origin was in the holy city and the Holy Land, where everything breathed the life, the preaching and the miracles of the Saviour of the world, was "the first" and became the "mother" of all the Christian Churches. On the summit of Sion stood

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the first church, from which sprang all the Christian churches. From "Sion issueth law" for all the Christian world. Its first founder and bishop was St. James, the Apostle, the "brother" of the Lord. St. Stephen, the first martyr for Christianity, met his death in Jerusalem. Before all other Christian Churches also the church of Jerusalem was first to be persecuted for the name of Christ. Demolished by the Roman armies of Titus (70) and of Hadrian (135), renamed "Elia," surrendering its ecclesiastical administrative priority to Caesarea, the metropolis of Palestine, Jerusalem yet becomes by the mighty significance of its holiness, as early as the fourth century, the centre of religious pilgrimages for all the Christian world. The holiest spot of Christian Jerusalem, the Sepulchre of the Lord, and the sacred places of the city and its environs, as well as of the whole of Palestine held the eyes of both East and West and, being the goal of the pious travels of the representatives of numerous Christian communities, the very situation of the see gradually became the cause of the ecclesiastical rise of Jerusalem and of the increase of the influence which the local hierarch could exercise on the church life of the land. Solemn divine services in the church of the Resurrection and other sacred places, celebrated according to the statute canon of the church of Sion, majestic litanies and impressive rites, befitting only over the Lord's Sepulchre and near it, in their turn helped to establish not only the self definition and luminous expression of the patriarchate of Jerusalem in the matter of liturgies, but also the formation of a patriarchal court of numerous clerics with special duties. At the same time Palestine became a cradle of monasticism which attained the highest point of its growth between the fourth and sixth centuries, working out certain conditions of asceticism and developing much influence in education and church growth. Thus to the very end of the sixth century, the Church of Jerusalem retained the

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most propitious conditions of exterior and interior development, attaining high perfection in the realization of its exalted purpose. After this a new era came in the exterior destiny of that church.

In 614, the soldiers of the Persian King Chosroes took Jerusalem, cutting it off from communion with the Orthodox empire of Byzantium, under whose protection was the church of Palestine, and destroying and ruining it. Fourteen years later the Byzantine Emperor Heracles reestablished the independence of the Holy City and by means of a treaty with the Persians guaranteed once more the existence and activity of the church of Jerusalem. But in 637, Jerusalem was taken by the Arabian Calif Omar, who fixed the Mussulman yoke on the Holy Land for twelve centuries to this day.¹ After the Arabs, the Seljuk Turks established themselves in Palestine (1076), and after the rule of the Crusaders in Jerusalem (1099), their dominion was inherited by the Egyptian Mamelukes,—in 1187 over Jerusalem and in 1291 over the rest of Palestine. At last, in 1517, the Osman Turks took possession of it, and it is only recently that their rule began to be threatened.

Thus the historical life of the Orthodox Church at Jerusalem continued for many long centuries in conditions of slavery powerless before the restrictions of the Mussulmans. Only at the end of the nineteenth century, under the political protection of Russia, was the church at Jerusalem freed from the horrors of Mussulman persecution. In the twentieth century the attitude of the Turkish government towards it became more balanced. But to the shame of all Christians without distinction of creed, even to our day the holiest of all the holy places in Christendom, the Sepulchre of our Lord has been guarded by Turkish soldiers, who have made themselves most comfortable, to the left of the very entrance to the church of the Resurrection, sitting on oriental divans

¹The article was written in the spring of 1917. V. J. translator.

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and carpets, smoking their *narghile*, and offending with their free and easy ways the religious sense of every pilgrim. Thus we have been shown that the triumph of Islam was complete at the very lifegiving Sepulchre of the Resurrected Christ, the Saviour of the world; that in the Holy City everything was not well; that on the rulers of the world, old and new, there still weighs the responsibility for the unfulfilled quest of the Crusaders. . . .

The present great war which is shaking the world in bloody cataclysms is surely destined to bring the release of the Church of Jerusalem from the Mussulman yoke and the actual realization of its further progress under the banner of Orthodoxy and all Christendom. The Turkish era must pass from its history, giving place to a period of free renovation and growth similar to the flourishing conditions which existed in the church of Palestine under the protection of the Christ-loving emperors of Orthodox Byzantium.

II

The Church of Jerusalem possesses the dignity of an independent, autocephalous see. It has its own place amongst the other autocephalous Churches of the Orthodox East. It is independent in its inner life and is governed by a separate local authority, which enjoys the rights of legislation and supreme jurisdiction. The chief representative of this Church is the Patriarch. His rights are of a dual nature, canonical and civic. Canonically the Patriarch of Jerusalem is the equal of the other Eastern Patriarchs, the Constantinopolitan, the Alexandrian and the Antiochan. His equality finds expression in the rights of ecclesiastical priority in divine service, in governing and in pronouncing judgments, all of which were established in early days by canon law. Moreover in the historical development of the Church

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of Sion the Patriarch of Jerusalem acquired other privileges which received corresponding regulation in local legal documents. The Patriarch is the general, chief, leader, and spiritual father of the clergy and people of the whole Patriarchate, the supreme warden and inspector of all the Holy Places and of the ecclesiastical and social Christian institutions of Palestine. He is President of the Holy Synod of the Church of Sion, and also the *igumen* and guide of the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre, an ancient institution of Jerusalem, from among whose members the Patriarchs are themselves elected and with whom he carries out the common mission of the protection of Orthodoxy in the Holy Land, the preservation of the Holy Places, church government within the patriarchate, and care for the welfare of pilgrims to the Lord's Sepulchre. In his civic relations the Patriarch of Jerusalem has represented his flock before the Turkish government; he has been the *ethnarch* of the population of Palestine, responsible for the strict fulfilment on the part of the clergy and laity of their duties as subjects of the Sultan in the Holy Land. The Patriarch communicates with the Turkish government in Constantinople either directly or through the patriarchal *epitropos*, who always lives in the capital of the Empire. In the most important ecclesiastical and civic affairs the Patriarch of Jerusalem approaches the Porte together with the Patriarch of Constantinople, as the first in honour and position among the patriarchs of the East. . . .

But unfortunately in Palestine, as everywhere else in the Turkish dominions, law says one thing and history shows a quite different one. *De jure* it can be said that the position of the patriarchs of Jerusalem was brilliant, but *de facto* it was full of tragedy. The rights and privileges of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem were constantly disregarded by the Turkish government and officials, having existence only in the *berats* and *firmands* of the sultans, and in reality they were constantly abrogated

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or made ineffective, so that the patriarchs of the Holy City were able to fulfil their exalted and responsible avocation only with painful endeavour and self-sacrifice.

III

The Patriarch of Jerusalem governs his Church in conjunction with the Holy Synod, which under his presidency represents the supreme legal and administrative ecclesiastical authority. Its members are appointed by the Patriarch but it is understood that a "befitting integrity" must be preserved in its constitution. It determines all the affairs which concern the sacred places in the Holy City and the whole of Palestine, also those of the central monastery of the Holy Sepulchre. It cares for the financial affairs of the Patriarchate and manages its property. . . . It is, together with the Patriarch, the legislative authority in the Church of Jerusalem. A resolution of the Synod passed without the knowledge and approval of the Patriarch is not valid; on the other hand no individual action by the Patriarch would be valid if it concerned affairs belonging to the competence of the Synod. The executive power belongs to the Patriarch who carries out the decisions of the Synod.

IV

Since the earliest days there has existed in the Church of Jerusalem a peculiar clerical organization, whose activity is closely interwoven and organically connected with the labours of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem and the activities of the local Synod, representing thus a direct supplement to the joint activity of the two. This is the *Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre*, the rise of which must be looked for in the fourth and fifth centuries, when the chief hierarch of Jerusalem acquired the dignity of Patriarch and was accepted as the equal of the other

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Patriarchs of the East. The Brotherhood had for its foundation the monastic community, which originally was the *synodia* or the companion followers of the Patriarch, consisting of his *syncelli* (or sharers of his cell); later on they became the organized clergy, who had part in the divine services performed by the Patriarch at our Lord's Sepulchre and the other holy places of Palestine; then they developed into the "patriarchal court," with grades of *arhonts* and officials, assisting the Patriarch in the governing of the Church. Historically this Brotherhood served the Church jointly with the Patriarchs and their Synods, the members of which were also chosen among the members of the Brotherhood and identified themselves with the objects to which the services of the brothers were dedicated.

The Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre is now a community of monks, whose *igumen* chief and spiritual father is the Patriarch of Jerusalem. Both in its outer and inner organization the Brotherhood is one body and one soul. It exists for the carrying out of an exalted and sacred purpose. Its mission is protection of Orthodoxy in the Holy Land, preservation of holy places, where they are to perform divine services, spiritual governing of the Orthodox people of Palestine and its education and, lastly, offering assistance to the various pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre. The Brotherhood accepts for its members men of good moral qualities, sufficiently educated, and only after a trial of three years. The first and chief duty of a member of the Holy Sepulchre, whatever his grade, is his complete self-abnegation for the sake of the Brotherhood. This is expressed in acts of zealous and devoted service, in holding at any time and in any circumstances the common interest more important than his own personal profit, in complete obedience and subjection to those in authority, in true brotherly love and a mode of life in strict accordance with the rules of the order. Aside from personal differences all the brothers

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of the Holy Sepulchre lead the same life so far as comfort is concerned, and have the same right to promotion. The property of a member on his entering the order becomes the property of the Brotherhood, which is the sole heir of all the brothers. The life and activity of the brothers are carefully watched, especially of those among them who are in charge of the various branches of monastic government. Those whose unfailing service has been of profit to the Brotherhood are rewarded, but those, through whose fault the rules of their order have been broken, are subject to punishment and can be sent away from the monastery altogether.

The Brotherhood's supreme authority is the patriarch and the Synod, whose members are chosen from its midst and who act under established statutes. The general assembly is called once a year, or more often in case of need, and the whole Brotherhood discusses and decides its various affairs. Moreover, the Holy Synod numbers the following *geronts* or honorary elders: a *skevophilax*, a first secretary, a *dragoman* and a *cumaras*. They are appointed by the Patriarch and the Synod together and carry out special duties. The *skevophilax* looks after the Church of the Resurrection and the various sacred relics in it. The first secretary conducts all the official correspondence and keeps the archives of the Brotherhood. The *dragoman* deals, in the name of the patriarch and the whole Brotherhood, with the Turkish officials and law courts, conducting there the affairs of the Christians; he also looks after good order in the central monastery and during the religious processions and celebration at the Lord's Sepulchre and the other holy places; instructed by the Patriarch, he investigates the affairs of the Holy Sepulchre brothers, and distributes bread and money to the destitute native Christians, helping them in other ways on behalf of the patriarchate. The *cumaras* cares for the valuables, the furniture and all the paraphernalia of the patriarchate and the Broth-

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erhood, also for the property of deceased brothers; he supplies the necessary vestments, vessels, bells, candles and oil to the monasteries and parish churches of Palestine; he receives and entertains the pilgrims, finds suitable gifts for them in the name of the Patriarch, keeps the records of all the gifts to the Holy Sepulchre, without exception, and lists of the names of the donors. All the *geronts* have their assistants and secretaries. . . .

The total number of the brothers of the Holy Sepulchre is about one hundred. They all are of Greek nationality, and so the whole Brotherhood is Greek in tone, though the native population of Palestine speaks Arabic. On account of the Greek character of the Brotherhood, there were heated disputes and collisions in the second half of the nineteenth century between the patriarchate of Jerusalem and the Arabs of Palestine, the cause of which was the desire of the Arabs to secure for themselves equally with the Greeks the right of becoming monks in the Brotherhood. Nevertheless, the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre to this day consists exclusively of Greeks.

V

But after a prolonged obstinate struggle of the native population of Palestine with the Greeks of the Holy Sepulchre Brotherhood, in 1910 a *Mixed Council* was founded in the patriarchate of Jerusalem under the presidency of the Patriarch or his assistant. There are twelve members in this Council, six being appointed by the Patriarch from among the brothers of the Holy Sepulchre, and the other six being elected by the laity. Every year the members of this Mixed Council cast lots for six of them, three monks and three laymen, to leave the Council and be replaced; from this the representative of the city of Jerusalem is excluded, for his appointment is for two years.

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The duties of the Mixed Council are the following: (1) examining and settling disagreements between husbands and wives concerning property after they have been divorced, or if the husband has abandoned his wife and their children, etc.; (2) looking after the management of the real and personal estate left in wills to the churches, hospitals and charitable institutions of the Arabs in the country and in the cities; (3) looking after the schools of the Arabs, their condition and management, the adequacy of instruction, etc.; (4) looking after the proper distribution of 30,000 Turkish liras (one lira is about \$5), which the brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre must yearly give to the Council for the poor Arabs, "for the maintenance of churches, schools, hospitals, for providing dwellings for the poor, and the other needs of the natives." Besides all this, the Mixed Council has to form in the villages and towns councils of wardens, elected among the laymen, for the keeping of accounts and the control of the debits and credits of the parish churches, schools and other communal institutions. However, the activity of the Mixed Council has not as yet attained the proposed development, and in some places it is still at the tentative stage.

VI

There is a peculiarity of the government of the eparchies in the Church of Jerusalem, which does not exist in the other Orthodox Churches of the East. The fact is, that besides the eparchy of the patriarch, embracing Jerusalem and its vicinity, there are only two metropolitan sees with hierarchs residing in Nazareth and in Ptolemais. There the eparchies are governed by the local Metropolitans, who are mentioned by name in certain prayers of divine service. These have ecclesiastical courts of law of their own and special deacons to assist them in their work. In 1914, there were bishops of the

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following titles: Jordan, Lidda, Philadelphia, Sebastia, Gaza and Kyriakopol. But all these bishops of the Church of Jerusalem are merely titular; they live permanently in Jerusalem, as members of the Holy Synod, and have no direct administrative relation with the cities and localities, whose episcopal chairs they nominally occupy. In the eparchies of these bishops, congregations pray for the Patriarch at the appointed places in the liturgy instead of for their own hierarchs; they are governed by the Patriarch and the Holy Synod, the bishop being merely considered as the *epitropos* of his eparchy, or the representative of the Patriarch, who can set any task to any of them, as to the brothers of the Holy Sepulchre, even away from the Holy Land. And so, the eparchial government throughout Palestine is entirely in the hands of the Patriarch and the Holy Synod, which simply means the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre.

The election of bishops depends on the Patriarch and the Holy Synod, the wishes of the people being also taken into consideration. The population of Palestine has repeatedly asked the patriarchate to have the bishops reside in localities whose chairs they occupy; in 1910, even the Turkish government "duly recommended" this course to Patriarch Damian. But the poverty and the scarcity of population in the eparchies are such that no proper dwellings can be found for the bishops. But it was especially the organization of the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre and the problems of the synodal government, which to this day have been the obstacles preventing the satisfaction of the just demands of the orthodox population of the Holy Land.

VII

From the remotest times Palestine was always a great centre of monasticism, which is shown to this day

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by the great numbers of monasteries and monks. In Jerusalem, besides the Central Monastery of St. Constantine and St. Helena, there are the monasteries of St. Spiridonios, St. Charalampias, St. Catherine, the Archangels, St. George, St. Theodore, St. Nicholas, St. Demetrios, another St. George with the patriarchate's hospital, St. John the Baptist, St. Abraham, St. Basil, St. Euphemios, the great Panagia² and others. Outside Jerusalem there are the monasteries of the prophet Elijah, near Bethlehem, of St. George in Betjala, the famous Lavra of St. Sabbas the Consecrated, of Theodosios the Holy Father, of St. John the Baptist on the Jordan, of Hierasimos, the Holy Father, of the prophet Elijah in Jericho, the monastery of the Transfiguration on Mount Tabor, the abodes on the Mountain of Forty Days, in the Tiberiad, in Canna of Galilee, in Lydda the monastery of St. George, of St. Onufrius, of the Holy Cross of Katanoma, of Chariton the Holy Father, and others. Moreover, as the representatives of the Patriarch, *igumens* are sent to nearly all the cities where there are some holy objects of veneration, and they protect the interests of the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre in Jaffa, Remla, Ramallah, Neapol, Gaza and many other places. The Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem has spread a whole network of monastic organizations over the Holy Land and through them it not only establishes abodes everywhere, but also realizes the fundamental objects of its own existence, saturating the whole administration with monasticism.

However, we must bear in mind that, with few exceptions, all these monasteries do not contain a great number of monks. For the most part they consist of the *igumen* and two or three assistants to celebrate divine services with him. Their household work is very simple, for in these days they own but little real estate, with a few gardens and houses which are rented from them by

²An image of Christ or the Virgin. V. J. translator.

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others for farming. The chief sources of revenue of the monasteries are the endowments and gifts of pilgrims who come to the Holy Land, chiefly to visit our Lord's Sepulchre, from all the Orthodox countries, but mostly from Russia, and leave their earnings to support the sacred spots of Palestine. The *igumens* of monasteries are obliged to send to the patriarchate their money accounts, the surplus becoming the property of the Central Treasury. In some cases monasteries are rented to the *igumens* who, in such cases, must pay yearly a definite sum to the patriarchal treasury. Of course, it is impossible to accept all this as normal, and strict reforms are necessary both for the reestablishment of the ascetic discipline and better order in the economic part of monastic life.

VIII

Popular education is also guided by the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre. It is greatly to be regretted that the Theological School of the Cross, founded in 1855 near Jerusalem with the help of Patriarch Cyril V in the monastery of the same name, has suspended its useful activity. For more than 50 years this school was the only ecclesiastical place of education of the medium type in the whole of Palestine which trained educated servants of the church, preachers and teachers of the people. The school had a seven-year program and attracted pupils from Palestine, including Arabs, as well as from all the Greek-speaking East and was an important point of church education and theological learning. But in 1908, owing to disorders and a financial crisis in the patriarchate, the school of the Cross was closed and is still inactive.

The schools of the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre are scattered all over the Holy Land. In Jerusalem the Brotherhood supports a gymnasium,³ with an interme-

³Something like a High School for boys alone. V. J. translator.

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diate and an elementary section, where boys can also be boarders. This school numbers 400 pupils, 285 of them day boys, 22 teachers and a director, the archimandrite Jacob. The Brotherhood's other school is for girl boarders, with an elementary section and an asylum; it counts 150 pupils and 15 teachers. The Brotherhood has also an asylum for little children of both sexes, in Jerusalem.

The Brotherhood supports intermediate and elementary schools, both for boys and girls, in Bethlehem, Gaza, Lydda, Zifna, Nazareth, Canna, Ptolemais and many other places. In 1914, the Holy Sepulchre brothers had altogether 90 schools in the villages and towns of Palestine, with 147 masters, 63 women teachers, 4,000 pupils, 2,850 of them boys and 1,150 girls. The Brotherhood spends on schools 200,107 francs a year.

Since 1904, the patriarchate of Jerusalem published a theological magazine, *The New Sion*, in which there were very useful scientific articles, in particular concerning the history of the local church. The best theologians of the country worked for it. And we were aware of a very attentive attitude of this magazine towards the theological literature of Russia, without which at present no productive labours are possible in this theological field. The magazine won the sympathy of foreign countries and altogether was very useful. But the present world war put a stop to its existence.

There is a most extensive manuscript library, chiefly in Greek, in Jerusalem, which is of the utmost importance for ecclesiastical science. The patriarchal library has been catalogued now by the very learned A. Papadopoulos Kerameus. He had the catalogue published in five volumes at the expense of the Russian Orthodox Society of Palestine, in Petrograd. The other five volumes by the same author and publishers contain selected Greek texts on various subjects and are of the highest scientific value, all coming from the same library. Both the *Hierosolu-*

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mitik^e Bibliothekē and the *Analekts* by A. Papadopulo Kerameus are truly magnificent additions to any theological library and a great testimony to the high scientific importance of the richest manuscript inheritance accumulated throughout centuries by the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre and now open for the use of the whole learned world.

IX

The field for educational and charitable activity is so wide in Palestine that it has attracted also other organizations, foreign in origin and different in denomination.

On May 21, 1882, in Petrograd, was founded the "Orthodox Society of Palestine," whose objects were the support of Orthodoxy in the Holy Land, the succour of Russian pilgrims to our Lord's Sepulchre, and the study of the past history and present conditions of Palestine. During the thirty-five years of its existence, the Society has built and renovated a number of churches in Palestine, has made many appropriations for the mending and renovation of church vessels and for the assistance of Orthodox clergy of Palestine; it has founded and still supports twenty-four schools, fifteen of them in Galilee, five in Judæa, two of them teachers' seminaries for men in Nazareth and for women in Betjala. Every year 1200 children are taught in the schools of the Society, the best pupils of the Seminary of Nazareth being sent at the expense of the Society to Russia to continue their education. The Society of Palestine has greatly bettered the conditions of travelling for Russian pilgrims, it sees that they are properly conducted throughout the sacred places and keeps up good hostelrys in Jerusalem, Nazareth and Haifa, where the pilgrims can have, either free, or very cheaply, both lodging and board, and also mental food in the shape of books and lectures. For the use of the pilgrims and also of the natives of Palestine the

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Society keeps a perfectly appointed hospital with fifty-four beds, and ambulance hospitals in Jerusalem, Nazareth, Betjala and Bethlehem. As to the scientific works and publications of this Society, they are so thorough and valuable that without them it is impossible to make satisfactory progress in oriental studies. The periodical magazine of the Society, published already for twenty-eight years, and its more popular publications are very useful.

The schools and charitable organizations of the Roman Catholics are especially numerous in Palestine. Ever since 1219, when the Franciscan monks became firmly established in the Holy Land, they have safeguarded the honourable mission of the "watchmen of the Lord's Sepulchre," and are still foremost in activity *ad majorem papae gloriam*. In Jerusalem alone the Franciscans had, in 1914, a large hostelry for pilgrims, the *Casa Nova*, two asylums, three schools and a hospital with an apothecary's shop. The Latin patriarchate, founded in 1846, has supported at its own expense a theological seminary; the fathers of Saint Pierre Ratisbonne kept a manual training school and an orphanage; the Lazarist fathers (1904) a seminary; the Assumptionists (1887) a theological school, the Scolasticat, and an inn for pilgrims; the Benedictines an ecclesiastical school; the Dominicans a school for the study of hagiography. An organization called *Les Frères des Ecoles Chrétiennes* (1878) kept the College of St. John the Baptist of La Salle, a school of the Sacred Heart and a hospital of St. Louis; the White Fathers (Greek Catholics or Uniats) kept two seminaries. Besides, the Latins had in Jerusalem eight schools for girls, founded by the nuns of various orders; sisters of St. Charles (1887), of St. Joseph, of St. Benedict, of the Rosary, and others, including *Les Dames de Sion*. The American Christian and Missionary Alliance had in Jerusalem, in 1914, a school for boys and a school for girls conducted by Mr. Thompson, an asylum for children

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of both sexes, an Evangelical missionary station, a female community for the study of the Holy Scripture, under the guidance of Miss A. E. Brown, and an Archeological School.

The English Church Missionary Society also supported two colleges in the Holy City, at that date, with the Rev. W. Stanley and Mr. Frank Ellis at their head; schools for boys and for girls, and an English school for the blind conducted by Miss Lowell. The other English institutions in Jerusalem are: St. George's School, St. Mary's Home, Miss Way's Day School and the hospital of St. Helena. The London Society for the christianizing of Jews, the "L. J. S.," keeps a hospital and four schools of different types.

The Universal Alliance of Israel also supports four schools of various types in Jerusalem. The German Jewish organizations in Jerusalem have an Asylum for children; two elementary schools for boys and girls; two teachers' colleges; a seminary for the training of rabbis; an evening school (Moria); a commercial and agricultural school; a girls' boarding school "The Evelina Rothschild," conducted by Mme. H. Landau; a Jewish gymnasium conducted by S. Schiller; a polytechnicum (Beza-lel); three industrial schools for girls; a music school; a school for the blind; four asylums for small children; sixteen religious schools, or Talmud-Thoras; seventeen schools or synagogues, *Yeschibets*, for study of the Talmud day and night, two asylums for the aged and two hospitals.

In 1914, the Protestants of Germany had a school for higher education in Jerusalem under the direction of Dr. Knecht; an industrial school; a parish school; a Jerusalem-Verein; an archeological school, with Dr. J. Dalmann for director; a polytechnical training school and three homes for the destitute. The German Catholics supported two schools for girls, one belonging to the "German Union of the Holy Land," and the other to the

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“Sisters of St. Charles Borromeo”; a seminary and an industrial school. The Deaconesses of Kaiserswerth had two hospitals, one of them for lepers. In 1914, the Armenians supported in Jerusalem a seminary, a school for boys and a school for girls, and a home for children of both sexes. The Kopts also had an ecclesiastical school of their own in Jerusalem.

So Jerusalem is a centre of educational and charitable institutions of foreign and alien organizations. From there a network of similar institutions spreads over the whole patriarchate, which is the arena where different Christian denominations compete and rival with each other. From the point of view of philanthropy and charity emulation of this sort certainly is worthy of all admiration; only the more so for the reason that the Orthodox Church of Jerusalem has neither the means nor the power to correct alone all the weak spots in the educational and charitable work in the patriarchate, being able to support only one hospital in Jerusalem and one ambulance station in Bethlehem. But most unfortunately, in spite of all the undeniable good the Roman Catholic and the Protestant organizations are doing in Palestine, they also do a good deal of moral harm to its Orthodox population by serving the purposes of religious proselytism among the Orthodox congregations of the Holy Land. This statement is founded on the authoritative testimony of the present Patriarch Damian. Answering the official enquiry of Joachim III, Patriarch of Constantinople, as to whether the Union of the Western and the Eastern Churches was possible, Damian the Patriarch, and the holy Synod of Jerusalem, wrote on June 5, 1903:

“Before any mention of the *rapprochement* of the divided churches, it is necessary wholly to destroy and completely uproot the evil of proselytizing which forces the Orthodox Church of the East always to preserve a combative attitude. It must be acknowledged that it

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is a matter for sorrow and contrition, a matter which becomes the cause of irreconcilable animosity, of much disorder and suffering, an excuse for the heathen to ridicule Christians and to attach blame to the name of Christ among the nations,—that Christians attack Christians like wolves, or crawling into their midst like snakes use every power, every way and means to make a single proselyte, when there are so many peoples in this world who are still dwelling in the shadow of death, who are scattered on the highways or forgotten in the pasture, like sheep without a shepherd.”

These very attacks of Western Christians against the Eastern are made in Palestine by the means of founding schools, hospitals, homes for the aged, etc., the methods of such propagandism are of great variety and show great ingenuity. To discuss this in detail is no part of our purpose in this article. But it is timely to state the thesis officially established by the Orthodox Church of Jerusalem, that in the way to the reunion of the churches of the East and West there is a serious obstacle in the form of religious propagandism among the Orthodox flock of Palestine, whatever its origin or its method.

This gives us the opportunity to make note of the great historical activity of the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre, which throughout centuries worked for the interest of Orthodoxy in the Holy Land, guarding the faith of the congregations of Palestine against the hostile intentions of the propagandism of other denominations, especially of the Latin. The other great activity of the Brotherhood is that it has kept the holy places from falling solely into the hands of the Armenians and the Latins. To all appearances, Orthodoxy would have disappeared forever from Palestine, and the holy places of Jerusalem would have been entirely lost for the Orthodox world, if it had not been for the great zeal and entire disinterestedness of the Brotherhood in keeping this most sublime inheritance for the Eastern church, and

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thus faithfully fulfilling the honorary mission, entrusted to the brothers during centuries.

In its organization and its past activity, the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre certainly had faults, but its service to the whole Orthodox world can not be recognized too emphatically and too strongly.

X

The parishes in the Church of Jerusalem have no uniform organization, not being guided by a general and definite statute. Tradition and custom are the chief foundation of parochial life and order. The churches are built by the parishioners, with the material assistance of the patriarchate, or sometimes by the Russian Society of Palestine. The patriarchate helps the parishes also by supplying objects of art for the decoration of their churches; also it assists them in the organizing of schools. But the majority of the parish churches in Palestine are poor, lacking in stateliness, and the supply of holy icons, vessels and vestments is rather insufficient. In this respect a wide field is open to donations, as neither the parishioners nor the patriarchate is capable of satisfying all the demands. More or less stately churches have been erected only in cities or on the sacred spots of Palestine, but in the country there is no immediate chance of much improvement. The fiscal management of parishes is also conducted according to local conditions. The Mixed Council resolved that the rural as well as the town parishes should elect wardens among the laymen to see to fiscal affairs and to keep the accounts of their churches, but this measure has been accepted only in a few places and is spreading but gradually.

The members of the parochial clergy in Palestine have not much education; their good influence on the people is through the sound morality of their lives. For the most part the priest is chosen from among the parish-

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ioners, with whom he went to the local school and whose mode of life is well known to him. The man who has been chosen to carry out the duties of a priest is taken before the local bishop for approval.

With the exception of the Greek Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre, the clergy and the Orthodox congregations are almost entirely Arabs. According to personal information received from the patriarchate, the Orthodox population of Palestine numbers 200,000 souls. The native population of the Holy Land being Arabian and the higher clergy of the Church of Jerusalem together with the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre being Greek, the necessary unanimity and harmony do not exist between them. It is quite clear that the question of more regulated relations between the pastors and the flock of the Holy Land must be solved in the near future.

XI

The Church of Jerusalem receives its means of maintenance above all from the pilgrims and also from donations, which come to it from all the Orthodox countries, chiefly from Russia, Greece, and America, where there exist wealthy Greek communities. In Jerusalem the patriarchate owns many houses and some other property, the renting of which sufficiently guarantees the maintenance of the Church. Then the numerous monasteries of Palestine have to deposit their profits in a special fund of the patriarchate. Outside Palestine, the Church of Jerusalem also owns inns for the use of monks and pilgrims, lands and orchards. For instance, in Constantinople on the Phanar there is a well appointed residence for the patriarchal *epitropos*, who represents the Patriarch before the Porte and the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople. The Church of Jerusalem also owns some property in Russia, in Moscow, Tiflis, Bessarabia and Taganrog; in Athens, on the Isle of Candia, in Adrianopole and Seres, on Halki Island, near Constanti-

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nople, in Trnovo and other towns of the Balkan peninsula.

For all that, the material circumstances of the Church of Jerusalem never were satisfactory, and debt seems to be its unchanging fate. It is certainly significant that Epitropi of Debts are one of its permanent institutions. The position of the Jerusalem patriarchate in the midst of Mussulmans has been such that it has had to buy with money the right to an independent existence and the ownership of some holy places. And its expenses connected with charities and educational institutions are relatively enormous. Yet the everlasting debts of the patriarchate are also to be explained by the fact that the numerous streams of its revenues do not all flow straight to swell the central sea of the Treasury, but stop in the individual pockets of the mighty Brothers of the Holy Sepulchre, especially of the *Skevophilax* of the Church of the Resurrection. In this respect there is a well developed system of special abuses, which many Patriarchs have fought without success, particularly the Most Blissful Damian.

It is obvious that the financial situation of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem needs a strict reform, so that the evident defects of the financial customs of the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre may be altogether abolished.

XII

At present the Orthodox Church of Jerusalem is on the eve of a better future. The British army is now approaching Jerusalem. The dawn of free existence for the ancient churches of the East is beginning to shine, after the long succession of centuries, throughout which they have languished under the Mussulman yoke, to the shame of all Christians, cruelly suffering from the arbitrary dealings and the violence of the Turkish government. May a new day shine for the Church of Jeru-

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salem, under the protection of Christian lands. May the life-giving Sepulchre of our Lord, towards which the eyes of the Christian world were ever hopefully turned, radiate its divine light on the future fate of free Palestine. May its prosperity and growth be equal to those of the Byzantine period of Jerusalem's activity. May they be even greater! Let the sacred words spoken by the Lord to the angel of the church of Thyatira (Revelation 2:19) be realized for the Church of Jerusalem: "I know thy works, and charity, and service, and faith, and thy patience, and thy works; and the last to be more than the first."

March 1917,
Petrograd.

The Theological Reaction of Social Democratic Ideals

BY GILBERT CLIVE BINYON, M.A.,

Oxford.

I

"The theological machinery that spoke so livingly to our ancestors, with its finite age of the world, its creation out of nothing, its juridical morality and eschatology, its relish for rewards and punishments, its treatment of God as an external contriver, an 'intelligent and moral governor,' sounds as odd to most of us as if it were some outlandish savage religion. The vaster vistas which scientific evolutionism has opened, and the rising tide of social democratic ideals, has changed the type of our imagination, and the older monarchical theism is obsolete or obsolescent."

I begin this paper with the above quotation from Prof. James' work, *A Pluralistic Universe* (pp. 29, 30), not because I could myself agree with every word and expression it contains, but because it brings before us, in an arresting and provocative fashion, the thought which I shall try to elaborate somewhat in what follows.

That thought is that some change, some revision or readjustment, of theological and religious ideas is a necessary preliminary to, or accompaniment, or result of, an acceptance by church people of social democratic ideals. For our present purpose, the moral ideals of Socialism, in spite of all varieties of detailed policy and programme, may be sufficiently indicated by the "Declaration" of the Socialist Sunday Schools:

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"We desire . . . to help to form a new Society, with Justice as its foundation and Love its law."

The phrase about justice as the foundation and love as the law of social life found its way into some of the literature of the National Mission of 1916; and a drawing together of the Church and organized Labour, long and earnestly desired by some, is, perhaps, a possibility rather less remote now than some years ago. It is, however, much farther off than some people appear to imagine; and no good, but rather harm, is done by minimizing this fact.

The assimilation by Church people of the moral ideals of Labour and Socialism needs to be distinguished from, if not all, then most forms of what is known as Christian Socialism; for this has a way of combining social service and social reforms with an essential acceptance of Capitalism, and of tending to produce harmony, not between the Church and the Labour or Socialist Movement, but between Capital and Labour, employer and employed; Christian Social Reform, unless the greatest discrimination is exercised, might well cause the last state of the Church to be worse than the first. It is, in one aspect of the matter, precisely as a security against this possible danger that account should be taken of the influence upon theology of social democratic ideals.

This influence, then, it will be my endeavour to indicate shortly by suggesting a few thoughts concerned with different parts or aspects of theological and religious thought and life.

II

The first thought is that of a reaffirmation of the unity of God's purpose alike in His righteousness or justice and in His love.

It is the fact of sin which makes it seem as though there were some antagonism between the two, and

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that the Christian Gospel offers us an escape from God's justice into His love. That such an antagonism could ever have been supposed to exist is, in the realm of pure theology, a serious matter, and it is a misconception which does great harm to some minds; but it might not, perhaps, be of very great consequence for the devotional and practical life, did it not carry with it a perversion of that idea which is expressed in the doctrines of redemption, atonement, and justification by faith. When these doctrines are thought of with the presupposition in mind that God's love in Christ somehow cancels or annuls His justice, then the idea is lost sight of that redemption, atonement, and justification by faith, usher us into a life of righteousness; the whole outlook tends to become vitiated, religion to be de-ethicized, and any vital concern for the welfare of future generations to be thrust on one side. In showing how far this process has gone, the pamphlet about Socialist Sunday Schools, from which a quotation has already been made, is of real service; so far from there being any wish to divorce ethics and religion, the movement is, we are told,

"An attempt, however imperfect, and made perhaps for the first time in connection with the public teaching of children, to unite ethics and religion, to unite them so that they shall become indissoluble, inseparably one, by the simple application of precept to practice."

So little, from the standpoint of social democracy, have the doctrines of the Christian Church to do with righteousness and justice!

In the work of recovering, under the stimulus of social democratic ideals, the Biblical idea of righteousness, some persons are, I am suggesting, hampered by ideas of redemption which presuppose an opposition between the Divine righteousness or justice and love or mercy.

Closely connected with this thought is the old question about the Gospel and the gospels.

Are we to say, with Dr. Dale, that Christ did not

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come to preach the Gospel, but that there might be a Gospel to preach, and that this was preached by the Apostles, as we find from the Acts and the Epistles? Or are we to say that the true Gospel is that of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man and the word of the Heavenly Kingdom that is to come on earth?

From the standpoint of social democracy, how much like an encumbrance of "dogma" does any Gospel about Christ appear!

How thin and inadequate does the other conception of the Gospel appear to the instructed Churchman! Is this the only message to the sick soul and the broken heart, to sinful, suffering, dying humanity? And besides, will this ideal for the future of the world, this hope of the Kingdom of Heaven, proclaimed by Jesus the carpenter-prophet, ever soften hearts that have grown hard in the worship of Mammon?

Plainly, the theological interpretation and doctrine, the Gospel about Christ, the preaching of the Cross, is needed too. But we must be careful to avoid saying, or seeming to say, that since the Law and the Prophets did not produce righteousness, something else, other and different, was needed; is it not written that those who hear not Moses and the prophets will not be persuaded though one rose from the dead? To a sinful and adulterous generation no sign was given, except the sign of the temple of Christ's body, destroyed and in three days raised up again, the purpose of this sign being to reinforce the prophetic ethic with a new power and to lift it up into the realm of the eternal; all the social idealism of Moses and the prophets is retained, and who shall not hear them now that the message comes through the preaching of the Cross? Who shall not find comfort now that for all sorts and conditions there is the comradeship and the compassion, the co-suffering, of Jesus? Who shall grow weary in hope

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now that all progress is the extending influence of the perfect social life already given us in Christ's infinite Person?

That there is need of something more than a moral law commanding social justice is evidently recognized or felt by those who speak of the Religion of Socialism, meaning, the Religion which their Socialist faith is, and in whose minds their social idealism is invested with a mystic and so to say transcendent reality. But how little the Church's theological teaching appears to answer this need may be illustrated from the following: writing in the correspondence column of the *Clarion*, a contributor, wishing to pour scorn upon some suggestion or policy which had been put forward in that journal, said that it might as well have been asserted that the only salvation for the working-classes is in the blood of Jesus. Many Church people would at once dismiss this from their minds as mere irreverence or profanity; or would find in it evidence of the great need, among working-men, for definite Church teaching; but there is, of course, more significance in it than that; and Bishop Gore, in his Primary Charge as Bishop of Worcester, had (no doubt) this expression in mind when, very shortly afterwards, he instructed his clergy to read the Labour newspapers and to realize how remote from that mentality were phrases about salvation through the Blood.

What is required is that the Gospel of Christ crucified should be so preached as not to destroy but to fulfil the law and the prophets.

III

But if it is necessary to consider these theological matters, it is no less necessary to consider certain points connected with the doctrine of the sacraments and the nature and function of the Church.

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In his work *The Body of Christ* (Note 21; the social aspect of the sacraments), the Bishop of Oxford writes as follows:

"There is a great deal—perhaps a disproportionate amount—of teaching about the sacraments being given in many of our Anglican pulpits today. They are enforced from the side of authority. They are enforced as means of grace to help the individual life. Their adaptation to our two-fold nature—material as well as spiritual—is ably and truly set out. But I cannot but think that their moral appeal to what is best in men would be made infinitely greater if their connection with the church as an organized brotherhood, if their obvious social bearing, were both better appreciated and more dwelt upon."

This subject has received singularly little attention.

It is true that there is, sometimes, a more or less highly developed sense of the sacraments as a bond uniting Church people, and especially of the Holy Communion as uniting communicants with one another. But this solidarity in Church-consciousness is not always any help at all in creating such a sense of the "social bearing" of the Sacraments as will foster, among Church people, a real sympathy with Labour aspirations; in fact, it may be very detrimental; and it cannot be this ecclesiastical unity that the Bishop means, for he declares that

"The church of the new covenant has plainly, like the church of the old, fallen so far short of its ideal as to have given men at times no slight excuse for identifying it with Babylon or with the State."

If we ask how it is that the social aspect and bearing of the sacraments, as distinguished from a sense of unity limited to those who make use of the sacraments, has been so much neglected, we might, no doubt, find many answers to the question.

But it may be suggested with some confidence that this neglect is partly due to the fact that those social issues upon which the sacraments have a bearing are themselves, to a large extent, remote from the mentality of large numbers of Church people, at any rate as matters upon which their Churchmanship might have a bearing.

Partly, too, it is because of those theological matters

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we have already touched upon. In the showing forth of the death of Christ, the thoughts of atonement and propitiation have obscured, if not obliterated, the thought of the passion of Jesus as the Martyr-prophet in the cause of God's righteousness. The statement in the *Epistle of Barnabas* that if we are fellow-sharers in things spiritual we ought to be so in things temporal as well, and Mr. Stewart Headlam's paraphrase, "Those who come to the Holy Communion ought to be holy communists," sound odd to most of us because we have dropped, from our ideas of righteousness and of Christ's Kingdom, that communistic quality which they once had.

But there is a further point which needs to be mentioned. Ideas such as those last referred to do not fit in very well with any type of sacramental teaching that is being widely given today; they demand a sacramentalism of a kind which may be indicated by calling it Maurician rather than Tractarian, that is to say, one which makes a great deal more than is usually done of the significance naturally inherent in bread and wine, and asserts this significance to be, not destroyed, but fulfilled by the consecration and by a belief in the Real Presence.

The idea of communion as common-union in the means of life, both spiritual and temporal, through man's dependence upon Nature and upon God, at once sets us free from the old controversies about Sacrifice or Communion by revealing their intimate and necessary connection, and relates the worship of the Church more closely to the common life of the world.

In this matter of the relation between the Church and the world, if we of the Church are to make common cause with organized Labour and Socialism, we shall have to acquire a much stronger belief in the Church's mission to the world; by this phrase, I mean here the determination of Christian people

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“to make it their aim to bring the sense of justice and righteousness, which is common to Christianity and to democracy, to bear upon the matters of everyday life in trade, in society, and wherever their influence extends.”

These words are quoted from a report presented to the Lambeth Conference of 1908; but in spite of the prestige with which they are thereby invested, it is still by no means clear to the majority of Church people, and by some is even denied outright, that there is any sense of justice and righteousness which is common to Christianity and to “democracy” in the sense in which that word appears to have been used in the report, that is to say, not bourgeois political democracy, but rather social democracy. So long as this is so, there can be no common cause between the Church and organized Labour or Socialism, and the Church’s mission to the world in the sense explained above can have no meaning.

But if (to repeat phrases I have already used) we recover, under the stimulus of social democratic ideals, the Biblical idea of righteousness and the communistic quality which once belonged to Christian social ideals, then we shall arrive at a conception somewhat similar to the old one of Christendom over against Heathenry, namely that of the Church over against Mammonry.

We shall then subordinate, in our Churchmanship, the pastoral idea to the idea of the church’s expanding, conquering, world-transforming mission. In other words, there will be a re-orientation of parochial life and activities.

When I speak of the subordination of the pastoral idea to the mission idea, what I have in mind is not at all that the clergy ought to give up all their pastoral visitation and other work in order to speak on political platforms or become amateur sanitary inspectors; but, rather, that the various activities of the parish should be directed towards bringing the law of Christ to bear upon a world which is largely organized without reference to God.

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IV

Reference was made above to the communistic quality which once belonged to Christian social ideals. This may be illustrated by the following quotation from St. Ambrose (*Duties of the Clergy*: Book I, c.xxviii, §§130, 132; trans. by H. De Romestin):

"Justice has to do with the society of the human race, and the community at large. For that which holds society together is divided into two parts,—justice and goodwill. . . . [Philosophers have] considered it consonant with justice that one should treat common, that is, public property as public, and private as private. But this is not even in accord with nature, for nature has poured forth all things for all men for common use. God has ordered all things to be produced, so that there should be food in common to all, and that the earth should be a common possession for all. Nature, therefore, has produced a common right for all, but greed has made it a right for a few."

There are minds which have a natural affinity with ideas of this kind; and those who are dowered with this mentality, so far from thinking these ideas visionary or dismissing them as mere theories and dreams which are unpractical, actually assume them to represent the only reasonable point of view, and thus, quite naturally, feel themselves aliens in the actual world of today. But of course many questions soon present themselves; can there be no justice, can no one be righteous, be right either with God or man, unless the whole human race actually adopts Communism? and when and where is this Utopia to be realized? at some future date in the world's history? or only in a world beyond the grave?

In trying to discover some sort of answers to these questions, it is most unusual for persons of this make of mind to find any help in the teaching of any organized body of Christians; in fact, these very questions to which they are seeking answers are pressed upon their attention, not with a view to helping them to find solutions, but by way of demonstrating the absurdity of

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the point of view from which they proceed. The truly Catholic tradition on this matter has been almost entirely lost, and, where it has not been abandoned for individualism and next-worldliness, has been replaced by modern Christian Socialism which is frequently very different.

The questions set down above were answered, in one way or another, by those who, in earlier days, maintained this communistic quality in their social ideals; but, as Professor James would say, "the vaster vistas which scientific evolutionism has opened, and the rising tide of social democratic ideals, has changed the type of our imagination" in these matters as well as in others; and it is necessary for us to answer these questions in a way which takes account of this modern type of imagination.

The problem before us then is, first, to discover some way in which those who by nature have this communistic quality in their social outlook and are also familiar with the ideas of evolution and modern social democracy may find answers of a Christian kind to these questions about relating their dreams to time and space; and, secondly, to discover some way in which those who approach the subject from an opposite point of view may get past these same questions into the true tradition of Christian social ideals, without a recovery of which there can be no understanding between the Church and Socialism.

Surely the solution of the whole problem and of all the questions is to be found in the Johannine conception of eternal life.

The social character of eternal life as uniting us together in Christ is constantly obscured by a form of personal devotion to our Lord which emphasizes too much the distinction between individuals; but it becomes clear when we remember the all-inclusive nature of Christ's Personality.

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As already risen with Christ and possessing eternal life in Him, we are already inheritors of the Kingdom of Heaven and citizens of the City of God. The communistic quality which belongs to the conception of the Heavenly Kingdom or City becomes apparent when we remember that Christ is the Origin, not only of spiritual life in mankind, but of all things that have any existence; man's common dependence upon Nature is the earthly counterpart of man's spiritual oneness in Christ.

Since eternal life does not properly belong to time and space, the contrast between a future world and the future of the world becomes resolved into the distinction between the two aspects of eternal life,—faith and love.

Righteousness is thus faith in, and alliance with, God's purpose; it is the laying of ourselves open to, and the effort to extend, Christ's increasing influence upon humanity; it is the continual approximation towards a complete conformity of actual society to the perfect social life revealed through the Incarnation.

Here, then, we have a conception of righteousness which retains the Catholic tradition of a communistic quality in Christian social ideals, which is in harmony with modern social democratic ideals, which is (consequently) "common to Christianity and democracy," and which, finally, is consonant with that type of imagination created by the "vistas which scientific evolutionism has opened." And what I am urging is that the religious ideas mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, if they are not the indispensable condition, are at least the natural concomitants, of this Christian and Socialistic conception of righteousness and social justice.

V

So far, I have been trying to indicate some of those particular theological or religious ideas the presence

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or absence of which I believe to help or hinder a thorough understanding between the Church and Socialism, and to be, logically, necessary if the two are to make common cause with one another against Mammon.

But a common cause presupposes, not only a common objective, but also a common consciousness between those who attempt to further the cause; and the Churchman, or indeed the Christian of any denomination, who wishes to make common cause with the Socialists, soon finds himself in a difficulty; where is he to find that common consciousness, that comradeship in the cause, which is an almost necessary condition of protracted effort? As a Churchman, he is a member of an organization of which the majority ignore or oppose Socialism; as a Socialist, he is a member of an organization of which the majority ignore or oppose the Church; he is distracted between (as one might say) "Church-consciousness" and "class-consciousness."

Throughout, we have been approaching the whole matter of an understanding between the Church and Labour from the side of the Church, and trying to discover the conditions of such an understanding: is it not in this difficulty just mentioned that we find what is perhaps the greatest practical obstacle in the way? If, as Churchpeople, we attempt to make common cause with the Labour people and Socialists, we may, indeed, as individual Churchmen, find that our whole Religion, including our worship and participation in the Sacraments, helps us in our Socialism, but also that our Churchmanship, in the sense of fraternization with anti-Socialist fellow Churchmen does not help at all!

I venture, here, to offer a few thoughts which may, perhaps, prove useful to any who experience the difficulty of these circumstances, and which may also, perhaps, make it easier for others to help them by joining in with them; but what I have to suggest will provide, not so much a way of escape from these difficult circum-

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stances, as an encouragement to persevere in spite of them.

At an earlier point, when considering the subject of the Sacraments, we had occasion to notice the idea of Christian worship being necessarily in vital relation with the common life of the world. Following out this line of thought, we see that, in the Divine intention, the Church represents and, in a manner, by anticipation includes the whole of humanity; in her Psalms, she utters the cry of the poor and needy; in her penitential Litanies, she asks deliverance from the sin of the world which has made it the scene of oppression and conflict; in her Eucharists, she re-presents the Sacrifice of Christ, thus renewing our sense not only of the ideal unity of mankind in Him but also of the triumphant, yet painful, path to its realization. "Church-consciousness" and "class-consciousness" thus merge into one another; or rather, become the consciousness of membership in the human race, divided by sin, united in Christ.

Churchpeople are frequently "offended" and put off from Socialism by coming across such statements as this:

"The missionary is the John the Baptist of the capitalist, who goes to prepare the way before him. The trader follows the explorer and the missionary, to secure for the capitalist class as much of the produce of the country as he can grab, and to establish as large a market as circumstances will permit. Last of all comes the general and establishes a 'protectorate' over the country by means of 'military operations.' . . . Missionaries are, generally speaking, the conscious or, at best, the semi-conscious tools of their masters—the churchwardens, deacons, and religious world generally, who wish to find secure markets for the products of their factories, and profitable outlets for their surplus capital, the industrial exploitation of the land, in the shape of mines, railway concessions, etc."

Or this comment on an appeal for the Bishop of London's Fund:

"The Bishop did not appeal to his noble and wealthy hearers to remove hunger and poverty; the point of his appeal was the necessity, not of feeding the starvelings, but of keeping them quiet."

The documents from which these extracts are taken

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are not of particular importance; but I give these quotations as examples of one kind of utterance which certainly does appear often enough in Socialist pamphlets and so on. The only thing about them that many religious people seem able to take in at all is the hostility to the Church which they express; all the rest counts for nothing; the other ideas expressed strike no chord, attract no attention, or, if they do for a moment, the effect is obliterated by the other impression created, that of irreligion: where this is so, there can be no common cause between the Church and Socialism: and even where people are willing to attend to the Socialist ideas expressed and to pass more lightly over those of hostility to the Church or religion, there may be some sense of divided allegiance. No Christian will wish to deny that it is the Church which represents Christ in the world; but what I submit is that it ought to be recognized that the Biblical idea of social justice with its communistic background, which really is part of the true Christian tradition, is now practically in the guardianship, not of the Church, but of the Socialists.

If there is to be an understanding leading to active co-operation between the Church and Labour or Socialism, the basis of it can be no other than this idea of righteousness or justice.

The recognized formula of International Socialism, "Religion is an individual matter," is one which is sometimes criticized; and if it is understood to mean that the Socialist Movement officially makes the dogmatic pronouncement that none but individualistic religion is the genuine article, it is indeed a curious assertion; but it does not mean this; surely the sense of it may be expanded somewhat as follows: "In our organization we ask no questions about religious beliefs, we welcome into our ranks persons of any creed or of none; if you find in your religious beliefs a motive and stimulus for Socialist work, and if by means of them you can appeal

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to others, well and good; but though this may be so for you as an individual or as a Church-member, you must be willing to rub shoulders with Socialists who hold other beliefs or disbeliefs." Understood in this way, the formula fits in perfectly with the plan of co-operation between the Church and Socialism on the basis of a common idea of social justice.

This idea of social justice is now practically in the guardianship of Socialism; ought this to be so very surprising or shocking to Churchpeople? The notion of a Church which has a monopoly of what is good and right is a separatist one; and the separatists *par excellence* were the Pharisees. The antecedents of this sect of the Jews are interesting; it was a continuation of the Hasidæans, who adopted as their party-name a word which means "those on whom rests the lovingkindness of Jehovah," that is to say, in particular, those who being thus penetrated by the Divine favour show forth lovingkindness to others, in contrast to the high-handed oppressors of the poor; this conception of the *hasidim*, before it hardened into a party-name, we may see (for example) in Psalm 12, where the word occurs in verse 1 and is translated "godly" in the English versions; we also find it in Psalm 86, verse 2 ("godly," R.V.; "holy," A.V. and P.B.V.), where the meaning is "one of 'God's poor.'" In this conception we have, allowing for difference of circumstances, an almost exact parallel to what I tried to describe above, a combination in one of "Church-consciousness" and "class-consciousness." The subsequent developments from this early conception are a warning against separatism of all sorts, in every kind of group or party or organization, and in a manner illustrate the aphorism, "The idea creates the institution, the institution crushes the idea." And where shall we find a surer safeguard against these dangers than in such a widespread sense of solidarity as will foster within us an abiding penitence for the sin of the world?

Mark's Gospel and the Synoptic Problem

BY A. T. ROBERTSON, D.D.,

*Professor of Interpretation of the New Testament,
Southern Baptist Theological Seminary.*

The story of Jesus still fascinates the minds of men in spite of all efforts to relegate it to the limbo of myth or legend. Strauss and Renan failed to remove the Gospels from the sphere of serious historical documents. Drews (*The Christ Myth*, tr., 1914) and Smith (*The Pre-Christian Jesus*, 1906) have likewise failed completely to destroy the historical character of Jesus on the judgment of a stout sceptic like F. C. Conybeare (*The Historical Christ*, 1914). The Great War has shaken the world out of whatever indifference to Christ had come. Whatever is true about the Miracle of the Marne or the angels at Mons or the White Comrade in the trenches in France, men are today face to face with Christ in a new and wonderful sense.

The study of Mark's Gospel in the International Sunday School Lessons for the first six months of 1918 brings the religious world right up against the credibility and origin of the Gospel narratives. Right across one's path in the pursuit of this inquiry lies the Gospel of Mark. "No man can pretend to have seriously examined the historical basis of the Christian faith who has not to some extent applied the ordinary processes of historical criticism to the Gospel of Mark, the earliest extant embodiment of the evangelic story"

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(Bacon, *The Beginnings of the Gospel Story*, p. vii). Mark's Gospel challenges the interest of the average man and of the expert in New Testament literature. Indeed, some of the critics find in Mark the only historical basis for crediting the story of Jesus Christ. Schweitzer chides the radical critics thus: "Modern historical theology, therefore, with its three-quarters scepticism, is left at last with only a torn and tattered Gospel of Mark in its hands" (*The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, tr., p. 307). Schweitzer has his own pet theory of eschatology as the sole explanation of the teaching of Jesus, but he does not hesitate to break a lance with the foremost German scholars. He scouts the whimsicalities of Schmiedel and von Soden about Mark and "Ur-Markus," "to retain just so much of the Gospel as will fit into their construction" (ibid, p. 304). "But in that case, how can a modern Life of Jesus be founded on the Marcan plan? How much of Mark is, in the end, historical?" (ibid, p. 306).

Harnack is more optimistic than Schweitzer about the value of Mark, though he laments the sad plight of gospel criticism. "Hence the wretched plight in which the criticism of the Gospels finds itself in these days, and indeed has always found itself—with the exception of the work of a few critics, and apart from the Marcan problem, which has been treated with scientific thoroughness" (*The Sayings of Jesus*, tr., p. xiii). One is caught by the phrase "scientific thoroughness" about the study of Mark's Gospel. At once then, we wish to know what modern scientific research has to say about Mark's Gospel. We have heard a deal about the alleged unhistorical character of the Fourth Gospel as compared with the Synoptic Gospels. We have heard much also concerning the "Jesus or Christ" controversy (see Supplement to the *Hibbert Journal* for January, 1909) after we turn to the Synoptic Gospels. Even there we find "Christ." We were told to discount Paul as the one

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who had perverted the simple gospel of the Kingdom preached by Jesus through his Pharisaic rabbinism on the one hand and his Hellenism and mystery-religion affinities on the other. So we were told to go "back to Christ" and away from Paul. But now the Synoptic Gospels are said to be as guilty of theology as Paul. Bacon even discusses "the Paulinism of Mark" (*Beginnings of the Gospel Story*, p. xxvii), as he notes Paul's influence on the Fourth Gospel (*The Fourth Gospel in Research and Debate*, p. 7). Bacon is right in saying that modern interest is not satisfied with proof that such a man wrote one of the Gospels at such a date. "What was the event which gave rise to the story? Through what phases has the tradition passed to acquire its canonical forms?" (ibid, p. vii). This is certainly true. "Our first duty, with the Gospel as with every other ancient document, is to interpret it with reference to its own time" (*Burkitt*, Preface to tr. of Schweitzer's *Quest of the Historical Jesus*, p. vii).

What then is Mark's Gospel in the light of modern criticism? The book has absolutely nothing to say about itself or its author. It is thus different from the Gospel of John (John 20 : 30 f.; 21 : 24) and the Gospel of Luke (Luke 1 : 1-4), both of which have something to tell about the method employed in using the material at hand. We have to look elsewhere, therefore, for any information concerning the origin of Mark's Gospel save what may be obtained by comparing the writing with the other Gospels. The early commentators seem to have neglected this Gospel. Victor of Antioch (fifth or sixth century A.D.) the earliest known commentator on Mark, "complains that, while St. Matthew and St. John had received the attention of a number of expositors, and St. Luke also had attracted a few, his utmost efforts had failed to detect a single commentary upon St. Mark" (Swete, *Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Mark*, p. xxix). It is plain that for a long time

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Mark's Gospel was less esteemed and less used than the others, in particular less than the Gospels of Matthew and John, the work of apostles, while Mark's at best was only the work of an apostle's disciple. As compared with Luke's Gospel it was much briefer and less complete and without Luke's literary charm. Besides, Irenaeus asserted that Mark's Gospel was later than that of Matthew and of less intrinsic historical worth. His order of the Gospels is, Matthew (in Aramaic first), Mark, Luke, John, and Zahn supports this view with his great learning (*Introduction to the New Testament*, tr., 1909, Vol. 2, pp. 398, 418 ff. etc.) Augustine (*de Cons. Evang.*, 1, 4) speaks of Mark as the "follower and abbreviator of Matthew," a view that seems directly counter to the modern view. The uncertainty among the ancient writers as to the place and value of Mark's Gospel is shown by the fact that different writers used each of the symbols to describe Mark (the lion, the man, the ox, the eagle). And yet Holdsworth is correct in saying: "The priority of St. Mark's Gospel is now generally accepted by modern critics" (*Gospel Origins*, 1913, p. 104).

So then we moderns plume ourselves on a clearer conception of the critical and historical value of Mark's Gospel than many of the ancients. "But it remained for a later age to realize and appreciate to the full the report which has descended to us from the senior Apostle through the ministry of John Mark" (Swete, *op. cit.* p. xxxiii). After all, however, the ancients seemed to have known the true origin of Mark's Gospel. Papias (quoted in Eusebius, H. E. iii, 39) says: "And this also the elder said; Mark, having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote accurately what he remembered of the things said or done by Christ, but not in order. For he neither heard the Lord nor followed Him; but, afterward, as I said (he attached himself to) Peter who used to frame his teachings for the needs (of his hearers),

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but not as an orderly account of the Lord's discourses. So then Mark committed no error in thus writing down some things as he remembered them, for he took thought, for one thing, not to omit any of the things that he had heard, nor to falsify anything in them." The more these words of Papias are studied, the more one sees in them a true picture of the Gospel of Mark as we have it today. One could wish that Eusebius had given all that Papias had to say on the subject. Papias quotes the Presbyter John as the authority for his words about Mark's Gospel. This Presbyter John was almost certainly the Apostle John (Dom Chapman, *John the Presbyter and the Fourth Gospel*). If so, we have here a criticism of the second Gospel by the Apostle John as reported by Papias (Zahn, *Introduction to the New Testament*, vol. 2, pp. 438 f.). This criticism credits this Gospel with accuracy of statement, but lack of order, although modern scholars consider Mark's Gospel as the framework of both Matthew and Luke. Probably by "order" (σύνταξιν) here is meant fulness and completeness as compared with the other Gospels rather than mere chronology. This point is true, for Mark's Gospel has nothing about the infancy and youth of Jesus like Matthew and John, nothing about the early ministry of Jesus like John save the baptism and temptation of Jesus. It is mainly a narration of leading events in the Galilean ministry of Jesus with the story of Passion week and the Resurrection.

The connection of Mark and Peter is attested by Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen, Eusebius, Epiphanius, Jerome. They do not agree in all details as to time and place of the writing of the Gospel, the occasion for Mark's doing it, or the extent of Peter's influence on the work. Rome is the place usually assigned and the impulse is given to the Roman Christians who wished Mark to preserve for them the teachings of Peter about Christ. This was done with the silent acquiescence of Peter (Clement of Alexandria),

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with Peter's approval and authorization (Jerome), after Peter's death (Irenaeus). We may pass by the various discrepancies in the tradition with the recognition of the undoubted fact that Mark was associated with Peter in Rome (Babylon) according to Peter's own words (1 Peter 5 : 13). Some have suggested that Peter refers to his purpose to see to the preservation of his knowledge of Christ in his words in 2 Peter 1 : 15, assuming the genuineness of this disputed epistle.

It may be said at once that there is nothing in Mark's Gospel inconsistent with this tradition that Mark used Peter's recollections (*ἀπομνημονεύματα*) of Jesus in the preparation of his Gospel. We do not have to say that Mark had no other source of information or that he acted as the mere amanuensis of Peter who dictated the Gospel. Mark's mother Mary was a leader in the Jerusalem church and her home was the resort of the great spirits in early Christianity (Acts 12 : 12). Peter, Barnabas, John and the rest would here talk freely in conversation and in sermons about Jesus' life and work. It is quite possible that John Mark early began to make notes of some of these things. At any rate, when Paul speaks of Mark as "useful to him for ministry" (2 Tim. 4 : 11) while with Paul in Rome (Col. 4 : 10), it may be that he has reference to Mark's reports of what Peter and the rest had said about Christ. Indeed, Mark's Gospel may already have been written ere Paul was in Rome the first time. Paul may have read it and may even refer to this service of Mark. It is worthy of notice also that the report of Peter's sermon at Caesarea (Acts 10 : 36-43) is strangely like the general outlines of Mark's Gospel. Mark may even have been one of the "six" with Peter on this occasion and may have made fragment notes of this and of other discourses by Peter.

The notes of an eye-witness are manifest in Mark's Gospel. They are admitted by all and include such details as the look of anger (3 : 5), the single pillow in

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the boat (4 : 38), the disposal of the five thousand like garden beds (*πρασιαλ πρασιαλ* 6 : 40) and the green grass (6 : 39), Christ sighing over the blindness of the Pharisees (8 : 12), taking the children in his arms (9 : 36; 10 : 16), Christ's look of love upon the rich young ruler (10 : 21), and the cloud upon the young man's face (10 : 22). The graphic style of Mark is seen also in his frequent use of the imperfect tense to describe the scene, as the picture of Jesus watching the crowds and the rich in particular as they cast their gifts into the treasury (12 : 41). The historical present is also very common and is due to the same vividness and realistic imagination of an eye-witness. Mark sees the picture going on because of Peter's vivid description in his discourses. These picturesque details do not prove that Peter is responsible for them, but only that they are due to an eye-witness. The early writers, as we have seen, ascribe the body of the Gospel to Peter as the ultimate source. The character of the Gospel is in perfect harmony with this uniform tradition. The very unobtrusiveness of the Petrine touches increases their importance (Swete).

We are confronted therefore with the sources of Mark's information. It is not necessary to assume that Peter was the sole source for Mark's Gospel. If Papias is correct in his statement that Mark was not a personal follower of Jesus and did not even hear him, he yet lived in Jerusalem and had access to the reports of many who did hear Jesus and who were eye-witnesses of many of the incidents in Christ's life. There is no more reason for confining Mark to one source than Luke. Schmiedel is correct in insisting that we must be willing to think of the "sources of sources." Mark's Gospel and Q (the *Logia*) themselves are based on sources. Luke fortunately has an historian's introduction to his Gospel and frankly records his method of investigation and use of materials for his book. He does not claim "originality." That is the very last qualification for the reliable

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historian. He must never invent his information. That he must obtain from others unless he is a participator in the events or a spectator of them. When Luke wrote, "many" had undertaken "to draw up a narrative concerning these matters which have been fulfilled among us" (1 : 1). Luke is himself a Greek Christian of Asia Minor or of Macedonia and probably had no personal acquaintance with the great matters of the recent past connected with the life and work of Jesus. We know, however, that he had two years in Palestine when Paul was a prisoner at Caesarea, assuming that Luke is the author of the Acts (24 : 27). He had ample time and opportunity during this period to get first-hand information from those who were close to Christ while on earth. He may even have seen and conversed with Mary, the Mother of Jesus, and his account of the birth of Jesus is certainly told from her standpoint as that in Matthew is reported from the point of view of Joseph. At Caesarea resided Philip, deacon and evangelist, and his four daughters (Acts 21 : 8 f.). In Jerusalem Luke would see James the Lord's brother and many others, men and women, who were full of the great deeds and words of Jesus. Luke distinctly states that he received help from those "who from the beginning were eye-witnesses (*αὐτόπται*) and ministers (*ὑπηρέται*) of the word" and who were thus in full possession of the facts. He had and used oral testimony therefore beyond a doubt. If Luke did so, why should not Mark have done likewise apart from Peter's oral witness of which Mark probably made frequent notes (shorthand or otherwise)? It is not necessary to go back to the oral theory as the explanation of all the similarities and differences in the Synoptic Gospels as Westcott so ably argued in his *Introduction to the Four Gospels* (1875) and as is still held by A. Wright (*The Gospel According to St. Luke in Greek*, 1900). The difficulty in the synoptic problem has been precisely this, that men have tried to explain all the phenomena

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by one hypothesis instead of being willing to see all the facts and to allow the free play of life instead of the narrow vise of a hard and fast theory. Sanday has presented with characteristic lucidity and force "the conditions under which the Gospels were written in their bearing upon some difficulties of the Synoptic Problem," pp. 3-26 in *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, 1911. He shows that "the Evangelists are not copyists but historians" (p. 12). They are not slavishly transcribing minute details from this or that document or jotting down stenographic reports of discourses. They do use reliable sources of information, but they often retell the story in their own words or dovetail the language from one source into their narration with the freedom of ancient and modern historians. Variations of language are not matters for surprise, but to be expected. "And yet the Gospels are not exactly histories," Sanday adds (*ibid.*, p. 14). That is to say, they are not mere objective records which are colourless and non-committal. They are all party pamphlets in the sense that they are written by men wholly committed to the acceptance of Jesus of Nazareth as the Jewish Messiah, but yet not such as the Pharisees expected. He is the real Messiah and King of the spiritual Kingdom of God in the hearts of men and is both Son of God and Son of Man. All four Gospels champion this thesis and prove it, though each has its own angle of vision. The approach is individual in each instance, and the touch to the picture is different, though the broad outline is the same. Mark's Gospel is more objective, but is still a theological interpretation of Jesus for the Roman world. Matthew's Gospel is a direct plea to Jewish readers to show that Jesus is the Jewish Messiah. Luke's Gospel has the broader outlook of the Greek culture and presents the universal aspects of Christ the Saviour of men. John's Gospel gives the eternal relations of Christ's person and work and interprets Christ's deity in terms of the current philosophy.

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Sanday insists rightly that we take note of the actual conditions (psychological and external) under which the Gospels were written. The use of papyrus rolls instead of codices or printed books played its part in the matter of convenience in consulting the documents.

Luke states (1 : 1-4) also that he made use of the written accounts of the life of Jesus. The ancients of the first century were great letter-writers as we know from the papyri. They used shorthand and made notes of all sorts. Cicero employed shorthand in the trial of Catiline, and it was in common use in the first century A.D. (cf. *Hibbert Journal*, April 1912, p. 723). We must get rid of the idea that the first century A.D. was an ignorant age. Mahaffy has shown that the Graeco-Roman civilization "was so perfect that, as far as it reached, men were more cultivated in the strict sense than they ever have been since" (*Progress of Hellenism in Alexander's Empire*, 1905, p. 137). He adds, "The Hellenistic world was more cultivated in argument than we are nowadays." Palestine was not in a backwater, but right in the stream of Greek culture as it flowed north and south, east and west. The Pharisees resisted the influences of Hellenism, but it was pervasive nevertheless. "The period was one of great literary activity in the Jewish world. These considerations, while they do not prove, go far to commend the opinion that the common, non-Markan material of the First and Third Gospels was committed to writing within the time of our Lord's public ministry" (Nolloth, *The Rise of the Christian Religion*, 1917, note 1, p. 23). If Matthew the publican, who was used to making and keeping data, wrote Q or the *Logia*, he may very well have made copious notes of the sayings of Jesus which he so often heard. Luke expressly says that "many" (πολλοί) "undertook to draw up a narrative" (ἐπεχείρησαν νατάξασθαι διήγησιν). The language implies an orderly arrangement of some sort of a more or less

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extended character. By Luke's time the matter had passed beyond the stage of notes or jottings or groups of incidents or anecdotes. Recent discoveries in the papyri have restored to us some of the *Sayings of Jesus* (*Logia*) introduced with the formula "Jesus says" (cf. Grenfell and Hunt, *Logia of Jesus*, 1897; *New Sayings of Jesus*, 1904). Luke throws no discredit on his sources or the use made of the data by previous narratives. He does affirm that, like a true historian in the spirit of a Thucydides, he has made accurate research through all the data at hand, both oral and written, and has endeavoured to make an orderly presentation of the real facts in order that his friend and probable patron Theophilus may "know the certainty concerning the things wherein thou wast instructed" (1 : 4). He subjected tradition to the crucible of criticism as far as he was able to exercise it. We have already seen the probable judgment of the Apostle John (as reported by Papias) concerning the value of Mark's Gospel. Then we have the probable reference of Luke to Mark's Gospel as one of the sources used by him in the construction of his book. We may grant more literary skill to Luke than to Matthew and Mark, but there is no essential reason for doubting that they pursued approximately the same method as Luke in preparing the Gospels which we have. The sources probably varied and we must allow full play for the individual judgment of the Evangelist. "We cannot lay down a rigid rule to which all use of books would strictly conform. We must leave a margin for the habits of the particular writer. One man would trust his memory, and run the risk of trusting his memory for a longer period than another" (Sanday, *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, p. 19). Did Luke, in fact, make use of Mark's Gospel? Holtzmann in his Commentary on the Synoptic Gospels (*Die Synoptiker Hand-commentar*, 3. Edition, 1901) makes a very able and, I think, conclusive argument to show that Mark's Gospel

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is one of the main sources of our canonical Matthew and Luke. He regards this as no longer hypothesis, but acknowledged fact. It cannot justly be put quite so positively as that when Zahn, as we have seen, still ably contends that Matthew is prior to Mark and that Mark made use of Matthew. To make this seem at all possible Zahn has to maintain an early Aramaic Matthew to which Mark had access. To be sure, Matthew could be prior to Mark and Mark still be prior to Luke. But, as a rule, the scholars who make Mark prior to Luke also place it before Matthew. Gould says: "That Holtzmann, with his evident scepticism, and his absolute and unqualified rejection of mere traditionalism, should accept the general historicity of the Synoptics, is the most noticeable element in the whole situation" (*International Critical Commentary on Mark*, p. xlvii). The "Two Document Hypothesis" lies at the basis of most of the progress made in our knowledge of the origin of the Synoptic Gospels. This position is accepted by Sanday and the other writers in the *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem* (1911). "We assume what is commonly known as the 'Two Document Hypothesis.' We assume that the marked resemblances between the first Three Gospels are due to the use of common documents, and that the fundamental documents are two in number" (p. 2). These documents are our Mark or "a complete Gospel identical with our St. Mark's, which was used by the Evangelists whom we know as St. Matthew and St. Luke," and a collection consisting mainly of discourses "which supplied the groundwork of certain common matter in St. Matthew and St. Luke." It is not difficult for one to see the force of this statement of Sanday if he will look at the parallel tables of matter common to Mark, Matthew and Luke in any Harmony of the Gospels like those of Broadus or Stevens and Burton or Riddle. A better way still is to study the lists in Hawkins' *Horae Synopticae* (2d edition, 1909) or in Allen's

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Commentary on Matthew (International Critical) or in Swete on *Mark*. Thus one is bound to see that the same general order of events is followed and that the framework of Mark lies at the basis of both Matthew and Luke. Mark's order is "confirmed either by St. Matthew or St. Luke, and the greater part of it by both" (H. H. Woods, *Studia Biblica*, ii, p. 62). St. Luke "is generally in fair agreement with St. Mark, when the two are dealing with the same events" (Swete, p. lxiv). Out of 106 sections of Mark's Gospel only four, besides the headline, are absent from both Matthew and Luke. Ninety-three are in Matthew and eighty-one in Luke (Swete, p. lxiii). There is a great deal of material in both Matthew and Luke not in Mark, while only one-sixth of Mark's Gospel occurs in it alone. And most of this peculiar Marcan material is due to greater fulness of detail in the picturesque presentation of the same events narrated in Matthew and Luke. There are, however, some eighty verses in Mark that have no parallel in Matthew or Luke. It is far more likely that the brief and life-like narration of Mark was amplified by Matthew and Luke than that Mark, as Augustine said, abbreviated Matthew or Luke. It can be shown that some documentary connection between the Synoptic Gospels is necessary by a case like that in Matt. 9 : 6; Mark 2 : 10; Luke 5 : 24, when right in the midst of a saying of Jesus there is inserted in each instance a parenthetical comment of the writer: "Then saith he to the sick of the palsy." There are other instances as clear as this. The argument may therefore be considered as complete. Luke did make use of Mark and so apparently did Matthew.

The purpose of this article does not call for an extensive discussion of Q, the other document apparently used in common by Matthew and Luke. Critics are not agreed as to the contents of the hypothetical Q. See Streeter's *"The Original Extent of Q (Oxford Studies,*

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pp. 185-208). Some would confine it to the matter common to Matthew and Luke. Others would assign to Q much of the non-Marcan matter in either Matthew or Luke. Others still would make it identical with Papias' *Logia of Matthew* (cf. Sir John C. Hawkins, *Probabilities as to the So-called Double Tradition of St. Matthew and St. Luke, Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, p. 105). But did Mark have the use of Q also? Wellhausen wondered "that such an investigation up to the present has never been set on foot" (*Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*, p. 73). But it has been set on foot. Streeter has a very able treatment of *St. Mark's Knowledge and Use of Q* (*Oxford Studies*, pp. 165-183). He argues that Mark knew and used Q from memory and wrote, not to supersede Q, but to supplement it, since Q consisted mainly of discourses, just as John wrote his Gospel to supplement the Synoptic Gospels. If this is true, the age of Q becomes "a subject of deep interest" (Nolloth, *The Rise of the Christian Religion*, note p. 23). Ramsay says that Q was written during the public ministry of Jesus (*Expositor*, May, 1907). Salmon holds the same view (*The Human Element in the Gospels*, p. 274).

It does not fall within the purpose of this article to discuss the origin of our canonical Matthew. My own views on that subject are given in the Introduction to my *Handbook to Matthew* in the *Bible for Home and School Series*. I do not feel that the case of Matthew is as clear as that of Luke who discusses his use of his sources (cf. Bartlett *The Sources of St. Luke's Gospel, Oxford Studies*, pp. 315-363). Papias' remark about the Aramaic *Logia of Matthew* is hard to set aside and yet the present Matthew does not appear to be a translation of an Aramaic original. It is quite possible that Matthew did first prepare an Aramaic *Logia* and that he later wrote his expanded Gospel in Greek. The Aramaic *Logia*, translated into Greek, may be

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the Q used by Matthew and Luke and probably also by Mark.

We know that Luke used Aramaic sources (written or oral) for the first two chapters of his Gospel and probably also for the opening chapters of Acts (cf. Torrey, *Composition and Date of Acts*, 1916). Mark makes some transliterations and then translations of Aramaic words used by Jesus who certainly spoke much, possibly mainly, in Aramaic. But I must contend that Jesus spoke at times in the current Greek (cf. my *Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research*, 2d edition, 1915, pp. 26-29). Wellhausen holds that Mark wrote originally in Aramaic. This view was advanced with vigour in *The Expositor* (4th Series) by Prof. J. T. Marshall. Blass adheres to it in his *Philology of the Gospels* (ch. xi) as does Allen in his *Commentary on Matthew*. But it is difficult to think of our Greek Mark as a translation and, as Swete says, a translator would not have both transliterated and translated Aramaic words. Besides, Papias knew nothing of an Aramaic Mark. Still less is to be said for the idea of a Latin Mark. Greek was the language of culture in Rome itself as we see from Paul's Epistle to the Romans. The Latin terms in Mark's Gospel are chiefly political, military, or monetary, as is natural.

It remains for us to consider the possible revision of Mark's Gospel. Is our present Mark the original Mark? On this point Swete is clear and positive. "The present writer has risen from his study of the Gospel with a strong sense of the unity of the work, and can echo the *requiescat Urmarkus* which ends a recent discussion. But he is not prepared to express an opinion as to the nature and extent of the editorial revision which St. Mark's original has undergone—a point which he desires to reserve for further consideration" (footnote to pp. lviii and lix). This judgment probably represents the sanest criticism of the day. There are some indica-

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tions in our present Mark of editorial additions of a later date than the original work. The most important of these is, of course, the disputed ending after 16:8 which occurs in three forms. Some evidence exists also of the use of Matthew's Gospel by Mark as we now have it. This evidence is not conclusive in spite of the arguments of Schmiedel in the article *Gospels* in the *Encyclopedia Biblica*. Maclean (*Hastings' Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, article on *Mark's Gospel*) properly terms these "doubtful cases." The priority of our Mark in these instances to Matthew and Luke is not certain. But editorial revision will account sufficiently for these few instances, if they are really later. Bacon is certain of this redactor and undertakes to point out the extent of his work. It is quite possible that a few additions were made to the original Mark by the author himself. So Salmon calls Mark "at once the oldest and the youngest of the Synoptics." Dr. A. Wright is a strong advocate of three editions of Mark's Gospel issued by Mark himself (*The Composition of the Four Gospels*, 1890). Holdsworth supposes that Mark was one of the six with Peter at Caesarea (Acts 10 : 23) and that he wrote out a full account of Peter's discourse there (Acts 10 : 34-41) which is an epitome of our Mark and left it there with Cornelius. Chrysostom and Jerome say that Mark wrote his Gospel in Egypt. This would be the second edition. The common tradition is that he wrote his Gospel in Rome. This would be the third edition (cf. Holdsworth, *Gospel Origins*, pp. 117 f.). Wendling, however, contends that three separate men worked upon these three "Marks" (M1, M2, M3). M3 is the Evangelist. Wendling's argument (*Urmarkus*, 1905, and *Die Entstehung des Markusevangeliums*, 1908) is plausible, but not convincing. See his arguments refuted by Stanton's treatment of "recent theories of the compositeness of St. Mark" (*The Gospels as Historical Documents*, Part ii, pp. 170 ff.). This "Three Stratum

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Hypothesis" of Wendling "cannot be denied the merit of ingenuity and plausibility. We may admit at once that it gives a consistent explanation of the facts; the only question is whether the explanation is the true one" (Williams, *A Recent Theory of the Origins of St. Mark's Gospel*, in *Oxford Studies*, p. 403). After all one feels that the theory is too precise and too artificial. There is no doubt at all that Mark used a variety of sources for his Gospel as did Matthew and Luke. It is not possible and not necessary to decide every detail about his sources, one need not be so "over-elaborate" (Patton, *Sources of the Synoptic Gospels*, 1915, p. 82). There were, indeed, major sources and minor sources for each of the Synoptic Gospels, as Burton holds (*Principles of Literary Criticism and the Synoptic Gospels*, 1904, p. 49).

It is quite possible that Mark made notes of Peter's preaching from time to time, beginning at an early date, and using this and other data for the final book which we possess. It is an interesting question, the date of Mark's Gospel. If we admit the early date of Acts and the Lucan authorship, as is done by Harnack, Mark's Gospel must be early. Harnack holds that Acts was written in Rome "at a time when St. Paul's trial had not yet come to an end" (*The Date of the Acts and the Synoptic Gospels*, 1911, p. 99). This could not be later than A.D. 63. Luke's Gospel was written before the Acts (Acts 1 : 1 f.), probably during the two years in Caesarea and before A.D. 60. If therefore Luke made use of Mark's Gospel, we seem compelled to place it not later than the fifties. If Matthew's Gospel is earlier than that of Luke and if Matthew also made use of Mark, we go further back, to A.D. 50 as the latest date, for our Greek Mark (cf. Nolloth, *Rise of the Christian Religion*, pp. 19 f.). If Mark used Q, this ancient document comes near the time of our Lord's ministry and death. We seem to be on *terra firma* in synoptic criticism in spite of

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many complexities and perplexities. The historical worth of Mark and of Q is not to be lightly set aside. Criticism can claim that it has restored to modern scholars the historical character of the Synoptic Gospels as the result of a century of discussion. The modern man can employ with confidence the same intellectual tools here that he uses in his other studies. And in Mark and Q he is face to face with Jesus Christ in all his glorious humanity and his wondrous deity, son of man and Son of God.

Constructive Theology

BY FRANCIS J. HALL, D.D.

*Professor of Dogmatic Theology in the General Theological
Seminary, New York; and Member of the World
Conference Commission of the
Episcopal Church.*

My aim in this paper is to plead for a revival of synthetic and constructive methods in theological study, incidentally to exhibit a widely forgotten although fundamental aspect of what is called Dogmatic Theology. What I have to say is related to the increasing demand for theological reconstruction—a demand with which I deeply sympathize, although with the reservation that such reconstruction needs more careful definition than it is apt to receive. As will appear in these pages, I believe that the revival for which I plead will at once conserve the results of modern critical investigation, and save them from onesided and misleading interpretation, by placing them in the context wherein alone they can be correctly understood and estimated. I believe that modern “results” have immense value, and that they have bearings which require constructive rather than critical methods to exhibit. It is for this reason, among others, that I am writing.

I. *The Modern Analytical Habit.*

That the present method of work in sacred studies is predominantly analytical and critical, rather than synthetical and constructive, will not be denied by

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many intelligent students of current literature. By the analytical method I mean, of course, that which is concerned with critical investigation, and with gaining more accurate knowledge of the facts and materials which have to be reckoned with in developing Constructive Theology.

Of the need of such work, and of its renewal from time to time, there ought to be no serious question. It serves to eliminate crude and erroneous ideas, ideas which not only distort the faith of the multitude but also seriously hamper the development of theological science. It also brings forth new treasures as well as old; and in this way it enriches Theology, and improves our conceptions of God and of His gracious purposes for mankind. My convictions forbid me to disparage the value and results of modern critical investigation.

I repeat that the habit of this age is predominantly analytical, and in no direction more conspicuously than in Theology. Sacred scholars are investigating rather than systematizing, and even the exceptions to this rule are monographic rather than general in their scope. Valuable contributions to constructive synthesis are being given, but they constitute a small fraction of current publications. Serious efforts to bring into coherent synthesis all that we know and have reason to believe of divine truth are lacking.

The antecedents and causes of this situation are not obscure. They date from the sixteenth century, and may be summarized under four heads.

(a) The Protestant reaction from mediaeval abuses of ecclesiastical authority brought in two new factors: (1) The first of these was a somewhat exclusive emphasis upon biblical study, an emphasis which gradually turned men's attention to the exact letter of Scripture, and consequently to the study of proof-texts rather than of the larger meaning of the Bible as a whole. The proof-text method inevitably challenged the critical method,

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which latter is often a negative inversion of the former. (2) The insistence upon private judgment, too unguarded as I believe it was, brought about a much needed emancipation of men's minds. But it also produced a babel of discordant systems, which in turn tended ultimately to bring all systems of doctrine into discredit. The Protestant revolt was of course inevitable; and although I believe that the reaction was excessive, I cannot blind myself to the mental deliverance which it achieved.

(b) One branch of this emancipation was the gradual removal of restraints from the scientific investigation of nature. Natural science first became fully scientific in modern days; and it has widened human knowledge, especially during the past seventy-five years, so vastly and so fruitfully that its methods have gained excessive emphasis, and have reduced in popular estimation almost every other form of serious study. But scientific methods are pre-eminently investigative, although they become constructive in the outcome; and the influence of natural science is as yet predominantly on the side of analysis rather than of synthesis. As the complexities of nature have been opened out, the necessity of specializing has come to the fore. A scientist is now a specialist; and the specialist habit, at present widely prevalent, is prejudicial to synthesis, except within the narrow fields of mutually isolated specialties. In particular, men's imaginations are limited by exclusive absorption in physical lines of investigation, and are often made incapable of synthesizing the diverse physical and spiritual aspects of the universe. Moreover, the marvellous successes of natural science have given to the specialized forms of naturalistic thought an influence which is not less widespread because prejudicial to large constructive conceptions.

(c) The rapid progress of natural science, including psychology, has also created appearances of contra-

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diction between theology and science, to the discredit of the former. The universe is God's universe, and its working is His working. Accordingly the descriptions of its working which natural science affords are in effect descriptions of divine operations, and furnish data with which theology has to reckon; and the constructive interpretation of the divine aspects of the results of natural science pertains to theologians. But theologians depend upon natural science for correct external descriptions of these results. They cannot always, however, keep up with the progress of natural science, and they are often found to be maintaining theological propositions which are based upon antiquated science. This causes an appearance of conflict between theology and natural science, whereas the conflict really lies between old and new natural science. These conflicts occur frequently, but continue only until theologians can assimilate later scientific discoveries. The rapidity of recent scientific progress has caused a good deal of such conflict; and this has tended to discredit Constructive Theology, and to throw it on the defensive. This in turn has caused apologetical theology in some degree to displace Constructive Theology.

(d) Finally there is the influence of biblical criticism. Its nineteenth century success has been so great, and its results so notable, that it has secured an excessive share of attention in sacred study. Biblical criticism is fruitful in "results" which can be seen to be such by all intelligent men, and its possibilities are very attractive. Then too, the Protestant doctrine that the Bible is the sole source and rule of faith adds an element of anxiety to the study, and intensifies the general sense of the importance of biblical criticism. The outcome has been to give a critical complexion to the bulk of current theological literature. I believe most sincerely in the need and fruitfulness of modern biblical criticism. It has served to banish many errors, and is helping us better

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to understand what the divine authority of the Bible really involves. But its specialty is to examine the human aspects and meanings of biblical documents, severally considered. It ministers to constructive study of the divine teaching of Scripture, but cannot do full duty for it. Positive exposition of the Word of God as a whole is a larger task than that of purely critical exegesis. It begins where criticism leaves off. It puts the Bible together again, and studies the Scriptures synthetically, as constituting a divinely selected and ordered library, given for the edification of those who accept the faith which is in Christ Jesus.

II. *The Need of Constructive Work*

All the factors above described have worked for emphasis upon investigative, critical and analytical forms of theological work. The results have the utmost value for constructive purposes, *provided constructive work is seriously undertaken*. The time for it has surely come; and the results of modern biblical and scientific investigation which have to be reckoned with have reached a sufficiently determinative stage to be constructively treated by theologians. Theology has been on the dissecting table long enough, and many signs now point to the need of a revival—I mean a *very extensive* revival—of Constructive Theology.

Postponing closer definition, it is sufficient at present to say that Constructive Theology means an effort to bring all the complex elements of spiritual knowledge, from whatever sources they may be derived, into coherent synthesis. The aim of such construction is to gain a more just conception of divine truths by viewing them in their context. The realm of truth is not atomic but organic. All truths are interrelated, and the meaning of the several elements of sound doctrine are largely determined by their relative aspects, by the connection

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of each with the wider context of divine truth at large. It is no more possible adequately and correctly to understand a Christian doctrine in isolation from the great realm of truth of which it is a part than it is to understand a bodily organ except in relation to the organism in which it functions.

A certain amount of work is being done today which is called constructive. To some extent it is constructive, but it is only contributory to what needs to be done. It is not extensive in scope, and does not afford the comprehensive survey of spiritual truth which the Christian world now needs. Many valuable monographs have been published during the past generation, and many sketches and discussions of constructive principles. But the great task of comprehensive synthesis in doctrine is still being put aside. The fact is that the need of such synthesis is not yet widely understood. No great *Summa Theologica* has been produced for a long time, and apparently theologians are either not interested in such work or have not the courage to undertake it. Probably the fact that existing works of this kind embody forms of thought and terminologies which are now outgrown either creates or strengthens prejudice against such labour. Men do not realize that, just as the great *Summae* of the past were needed to coördinate and fortify Christian doctrine under the then existing conditions of knowledge and thought, so similar works, adjusted in form and terminology to modern conditions of intelligence, are required to meet the same need—will help to unify the Christian outlook of our time and to overcome the confusion and upsetting effects of recent enlargements of knowledge and criticism run riot. So long as Christian theologians fall short of a truly comprehensive conception of the great body of truth which it is their vocation to expound in relation to human knowledge and reason at large, just so long will their labours be deprived of full fruitage, and the

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present theological discord will be perpetuated and intensified.

At this point I desire to call attention to the inadequacy of certain substitutes for construction. This is an age of encyclopædias, and for their purpose such productions have great value. They bring together for convenient consultation scholarly summaries of the present state of knowledge and enquiry in many fields of specialized labour. But this bringing together is not synthesis or constructive work in the proper sense of these terms. Alphabetical arrangement is not co-ordination or unification of conceptions. It is simply an effective labour-saving device which enables the constructive theologian to utilize more quickly many of the materials which he has to employ. But the best theological dictionary that can be produced is merely an adjunct of Constructive Theology. It helps one to find things, but its divisions are arbitrary and have no constructive value. Their arrangement is not organic but mechanical.

Another type of work, intended to be constructive but in fact only partially so, combines in logical order a series of essays on mutually related topics, written by several authors whose standpoints are in fundamental accord. Such a work may be very useful, and may break ground for true synthesis, but it cannot be expected to do more than that. If the several writers are to do their best, they will retain a certain amount of personal detachment, and the results will not exhibit the complete mutual coherence which characterizes the chapters of a systematic work by one author. Then too, the scope of such works, of which the *Lux Mundi* affords a good example, is limited. No one of them meets the need with which I am here concerned. A more effective unity is needed than the editorial and collective method of production can secure. Theologians cannot do their best work unless editorial oversight

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is kept within severe limits. There is abundant reason, therefore, for doubting the possibility of satisfactory constructive work of the kind under consideration by collective effort. Certainly it is impossible unless the chief worker can employ his assistants as mere compilers of material for him to utilize in his own way. Unless one mind is determinative in the whole and in all its parts, the result must lack the unity which is required for really successful construction.

The suggestion has more than once been made that a religious brotherhood might succeed in this kind of work. The suggestion is plausible, for a closer unity of mind is possible in a religious house than elsewhere. But even there the need of a dominant mind, of a theological genius capable of fusing everything into constructive unity, is evident, if the result is to be more than a series of monographs. And what I have been urging applies with peculiar force to collections like *The International Theological Library* and *The Oxford Library of Practical Theology*. Both of these contain useful monographs, but neither of them meets the particular need of which I am writing.

III. *The Task of Dogmatic Theology*

The traditional name of what for argumentative reasons I have described as Constructive Theology is Dogmatic Theology—a name widely misconceived and invidiously regarded. Its one aim is popularly thought to be to exploit dogmas; and dogmas, thanks to their multiplication in recent centuries and their consequent mutual discordance, are regarded as dead shibboleths, calculated to repress freedom of enquiry and to enslave the mind. Competent scholars view the matter less crudely, but few of them wholly escape the contagion of prejudice which bows the queen of sciences out of court.

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The popular idea of Dogmatic Theology is mistaken in regard both to the meaning of "Dogmatic" and to the place and use of dogmas. Theology came to be called Dogmatic, not because made up of dogmas, nor because claiming dogmatic authority, but simply because it took for granted the truth of ecumenical dogmas, making them determinative elements of theological construction. In brief the phrase Dogmatic Theology implies that the standpoint of historical Christianity is assumed to be fundamentally true and determinative. But whether called Dogmatic or Constructive, Theology is a human science—the science of whatever we can know, or have reason to believe, of divine things. Its scope is wider than that of dogma, and it is both progressive and fallible—not less important for spiritual intelligence on that account. As the knowledge of God's universe increases, Dogmatic Theology makes progress also, spiritually interpreting new discoveries and assimilating the results in a wider coördination of the divine meanings of all things. Logically speaking it is called the queen of sciences, not as having any unique authority, but because the knowledge of God and of His purposes with which Theology is concerned is the most central and illuminative knowledge which men can have. It is this because the universe is God's universe and the meaning of everything in it is His meaning.

The popular conception of dogmas and of their purpose is also at fault. It is so at least with regard to the ecumenical dogmas which are referred to in the phrase Dogmatic Theology. These dogmas are simply authoritative definitions by the ancient Church of certain central and vital doctrines received from the Apostles, the true understanding of which had been imperilled by erroneous definitions. The purpose of their adoption was to preserve the knowledge of apostolic doctrine among the faithful. Their terms are now called metaphysical, but they were then current coin among intel-

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ligent men, and in their dogmatic context conveyed no other meaning than that which in every succeeding generation has been verified as preserving New Testament and apostolic teaching. These dogmas were imposed by ecumenical authority—the highest of its kind on earth. But if they were proved to be invalid, they would inevitably cease to retain their influence in Theology, whether it continued to describe itself as Dogmatic or appropriated some other description.

The notion that theological science can be kept indefinitely within the grave-clothes of antiquated error is certainly mistaken. In common with other sciences, Theology seeks to coördinate what is true, and will in time inevitably eliminate whatever is shown to be untrue. No authority is able to reverse this law; and the deference of theologians to dogmatic authority would come to an end if its dogmas ceased to stand whatever legitimate tests can be applied. Theology cannot be prevented from making progress with the advance of human knowledge in spiritual things by calling it Dogmatic, for it is a science and is cultivated by earnest and thinking men. Its progress has indeed been greatly hampered at times by error, but the same is true of natural sciences; and the popular identification of Dogmatic Theology with mental stagnation should be ended.

Dogmatic Theology is not a branch of ecclesiastical dogmatizing, but is a free science. It is Constructive Theology, and the coördination of all spiritual knowledge with which it is concerned is of the utmost value to mankind. But its specialty is synthesis and construction rather than analysis and critical investigation. It is complementary to these latter, and must of course reckon with their established results, however unexpected they may prove to be. None the less the dependence is not one-sided, but is mutual. The results of criticism which have doctrinal implications, when viewed

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in the context of the connected truths in which it is the specialty of Dogmatic Theology to place them, are sometimes found to have need of modified interpretation. The final test of a critical result is its relatedness to previous knowledge of the realm of truth into which, if it is in accord with reality, it must be seen to fit. Even established facts—the most obstinate and immutable of things—sometimes undergo surprising changes of appearance and interpretation when removed from the isolation in which critical experts are apt to regard them and viewed in the larger context of connected truths in which a sound Dogmatic Theology places them.

The facts connected with the resurrection of our Lord afford a notable illustration of this. To a detached critical expert these facts are apt to suggest almost any interpretation rather than that of a resurrection from the tomb of the “flesh and bones” in which the Lord was crucified. The critic is led by his specialized methods to study the post-resurrection appearances of Christ in isolation from all else except the postulates which physical science and the so-called “historical method” supply. Very naturally he is involved in difficulties, for these appearances agree with no hypothesis which his exclusive method of inquiry permits him to adopt. They fit into no context which comes within the range of his specialized field of reckoning. The proof of this lies in the failure of critics of the “detached” type to agree in interpreting the appearances, and in their efforts to go back of the testimony and reconstruct the narrative.

The one thing which they refuse to do, and which their reputation for expertness influences others to avoid doing, is to put the facts as they are given into the context in which their true meaning and credibility can be perceived. It is the task of Dogmatic Theology to do this very thing; and the great pity of it is that unreflecting prejudice against anything called “Dogmatic” blinds many scholarly enquirers to the need of employing its

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constructive aid. Those, however, who overcome such prejudice, and carefully reckon with the constructive aspects of the resurrection, cease to feel baffled and mentally stultified by the conclusion to which the Gospel narratives point when they are not tampered with. This conclusion is that Jesus Christ rose from death in the flesh in which He was crucified, although with marvellous changes in the state and capacities of that flesh.

To competent dogmatic theologians both the reality of our Lord's risen flesh and the changes which it manifestly underwent have a context of fact and truth which helps them to see that they are highly credible and supremely significant. The initial prejudice against belief in the fitness of matter for use in a world of spirits is met by the increasingly recognized fact that matter has no meaning or value except as made for spirit, by its increasing usefulness to spirit, and by perception that this present world is as truly a world of spirits as the future world can be. Moreover, the susceptibility of the body to development for spiritual use cannot be shown to be limited to this line. Then there is the Person of Christ. "Declared to be the Son of God with power" by His resurrection, this revelation shows also that the resurrection was perfectly natural to Him, however impossible for mere man. He could not be holden of death. Then too, the Easter event is seen to have relations of determinative nature to the world-drama at large. It links up with the Incarnation and completes our redemption. It makes possible, and is in line with, all that follows—His heavenly enthronement and priesthood, the functioning of the Church as His mystical Body, our Sacramental nourishment of His flesh and Blood, etc. . I am, of course, only indicating rapidly some of the lines of constructive work by which the dogmatic theologian places the resurrection in its proper context, and thus exhibits its true

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meaning and credibility. A far more elaborate exposition than can be attempted here would be necessary to do justice to the subject. My point is that, in spite of their great value, analytical and critical methods of investigating divine truth have to be supplemented by the constructive methods of Dogmatic Theology, if their results are to be adequately tested and given interpretations of permanent validity.

IV. *Theological Reconstruction*

An urgent demand for theological reconstruction is frequently heard in our day. But in conservative circles this demand is apt to be regarded with suspicion, as having in view something very radical indeed—nothing less than an alteration of the substance of the Christian faith itself. It is true that in certain quarters those who advocate reconstruction do contemplate something of this kind. But the phrase “theological reconstruction” ought to have no such meaning. Theology is one thing and the Christian faith another. The faith is a limited series of saving truths of permanent validity. These truths constitute determinative data for theology; but theology is a science which coördinates these and all other spiritual data in one constructive scheme.

It is the readjustment of this scheme to wider knowledge and new forms of thought that constitutes the proper meaning of theological reconstruction; and its necessity is not less real because the changes involved may prove to be less radical than some people think. The fact that the saving truths of Christian doctrine are not only abidingly valid, but have both internal and external relations which to a degree determine the more fundamental lines of theological construction, limits the amount of reconstruction of which Theology is properly susceptible. This can be refuted only by demonstrating the falsity of historic Christianity. Its

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faith is not a bundle of mutually independent doctrines, but a closely interrelated series of truths which in their fundamental substance stand or fall together. And the relation of this body of truth to spiritual knowledge at large is so central and determinative that a Theology which is not controlled in fundamental construction by its propositions and their relations is necessarily at issue with truth and is unscientific.

Regarded in logical sequence, the first of Christian doctrines is that of God, in His essential unity and tri-personality; and the mysteries of creation, of sin, of the redemptive drama (including the Incarnation and the death and resurrection of Christ), of our Lord's heavenly priesthood, of the work of the Holy Spirit, of the Church and its means of grace, and of things after death, follow logically in the order in which I have listed them. Men's coming to the knowledge of them rarely conforms to this sequence, and pedagogic reasons may justify a different order of exposition. For instance one may begin with the Incarnation and work backward to the doctrine of God. The point is that to do so is to work backward and not forward. Logically and scientifically speaking, the doctrine of God is prior to that of the Incarnation, and it cannot become otherwise, for the order is rooted in relations that are as much a part of immutable truth as are the several mysteries themselves.

Now the aim of scientific construction is to conform the scientific order as closely as possible to the true relations of things; and this means that, so long as it is scientific Theology, it will coördinate fundamental Christian doctrines in the constructive order above indicated. But these doctrines constitute the most central data of Theology, and the unchanging nature of their relations gives a large element of stability to theological construction.

What kind and degree of reconstruction does the progress of scientific and critical knowledge require?

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Obviously one that will obscure the true relations and logical sequences of Christian doctrine is neither needed nor scientifically to be justified. Theological reconstruction should mean three things: (1) eliminating extraneous accretions now seen to be invalid; (2) building into the structure of theological science as thus reformed the newly discovered data of our time, with such constructive adjustments as this may require; (3) adjustments of terminology which, without altering their substance, will make Christian doctrines more intelligible to those who think and speak after the modern manner.

Such reconstruction is both important and dependent for success upon very reverent, careful and skilful work. But if rightly carried through, it will not only rehabilitate Dogmatic Theology, but will also fortify the Christian faith and increase the efficiency of the Christian propaganda. Hitherto those who have undertaken reconstruction have too frequently been controlled by a destructive animus, or else have engaged in mere patchwork. Neither of these methods will answer; nor can the work be carried through successfully by those who are habituated to analytical and critical methods. Constructive work requires constructive skill, such as is to be found among competent constructive theologians. These must indeed be reliably and sufficiently acquainted with recent scientific and critical results; but not after the critical manner, if they are to specialize successfully in constructive work. In brief, the reconstruction of Dogmatic Theology is the work of dogmatic theologians—adequately acquainted with their subject, and capable of synthesis on the most comprehensive lines.

V. *Benefits of a Revival of Constructive Theology*

It is time to describe the benefits to be derived from a revival of Constructive or Dogmatic Theology.

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(a) In the first place it will bring about a long needed improvement of Dogmatic Theology itself. This science has been to a degree sidetracked by critical scholarship, and has in consequence lagged behind. Roman Catholic theologians have continued to produce extensive works, but under restrictions that interfere with the developments and reconstructions which modern conditions make necessary. Protestant works either are too restricted in range or perpetuate sixteenth century models rather than meet the present need. Anglican theology is notoriously unsystematic, and offers no example of large constructive effort. I do not wish to exaggerate. Quite a number of valuable monographs on particular doctrines have appeared, and also useful outlines of Christian doctrine for pedagogic purposes. Contributions to constructive work have also not been wanting, but they have been limited in range, and apologetical rather than systematic in aim. As a result, Dogmatic Theology in its proper sense of large and constructive treatment of the whole range of divine truth has stood still, and has fallen into discredit as identified with many outgrown conceptions. If it is to recover its lost prestige as the queen of sciences, it must be taken up by many competent scholars, reconstructed so far as changed intelligence requires, and brought abreast of existing spiritual knowledge on a large and comprehensive scale. When this is seriously undertaken, Dogmatic Theology will take its proper place among living branches of sacred study, and will bring the sorely needed benefits which properly attend its development.

(b) I have already indicated one of these benefits—the final testing of the results of criticism by placing them in their proper context, and a more balanced and mature interpretation of them. So long as critical results are presented only as isolated propositions or interpreted from highly specialized critical standpoints, they will fail to exhibit their real theological bearings

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and values. And they will cause theological unrest rather than the enlightenment to which they will minister when given their proper place and constructive interpretation. Dogmatic Theology is not antagonistic to criticism sanely pursued, but is its needed complement in final synthesis and mature understanding of its valuable results.

(c) A wholesomely developed Constructive Theology is the only human remedy for one-sided partisanship, sectarianism and provincial limitations of view, and for the opposite evil of chaotic license of opinion. I say the only *human* remedy because I do not forget the determinative part which the Holy Spirit fulfils in enlightening men's minds, removing prejudice, restoring the sense of proportion and of responsibility for taking divine revelation seriously. But the sanity and largeness of spiritual intelligence which the Spirit alone can impart requires Constructive Theology for its exhibition and fortification; so that this science is the chief human and academic factor in the work of the Spirit referred to. Without adequate synthesis of spiritual knowledge and doctrine, men will inevitably specialize in favourite fields to the neglect of all else, and will develop one-sided and inadequate conceptions—fragmentary caricatures rather than justly proportioned religious ideas.

(d) Constructive Theology will make for Christian unity of mind, for that unity of fundamental conviction which is a necessary condition of success in healing the present sad divisions of Christendom. I am not thinking of any sudden and magical results. Sectarian and partisan prejudice will for some time continue to react upon Theology and hamper its sound development and unifying influence; and the work of the Holy Spirit is an essential factor. If the scholarly Christian world were now to devote serious attention to Dogmatic Theology the immediate result would no doubt be disappointing; for mutually inconsistent systems would be exploited,

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and there would be no general agreement as to the constructive relations which connect Christian truths together and to a degree determine the meaning and proportionate values of each. If truth is organic, as it certainly is, the relations between particular truths are as determinate and susceptible of permanently valid exhibition as are the several truths themselves. In other words, the descriptive terms "true" and "false" are as applicable to the constructive aspects of Theology as they are to its propositions severally considered. Accordingly the immediate consequence of a revival of Dogmatic Theology would be the publication of systems of very unequal conformity to constructive truth.

Yet such a result would be temporary, and short-lived, when contemplated from the standpoint of the ages. Error cannot permanently hold its own, especially when formulated in the open. We live in an age of growing cosmopolitanism; and under modern conditions every system of doctrine must obey the law of struggle for existence and survival of the fit, that is, of the true. All systems of doctrine must stand the test of mutual comparison in a cosmopolitan, catholic atmosphere, an atmosphere of searching criticism. Dogmatic Theology has no prerogative that can exempt it from such an ordeal. Gradually the unfit, one-sided and crude will be shelved. With the same gradualness the more fit, comprehensive and true will gain credit. Ultimately, under the enlightening and overruling providence of the Spirit of truth, there will emerge in Christendom the outlines of a Constructive Theology which will do justice to every positive truth (now either caricatured by one-sided emphasis or neglected in obedience to sectarian reaction) and will register and fortify a unity of mind among Christians for which no price except that of abandonment of truth is too great to pay. The immediate and preliminary price is to turn away from negative attitudes and to cultivate positives, which are usually

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true although often marred by partisan caricature. To cultivate positives means to put them in their context in the larger synthesis with which Dogmatic Theology is concerned. So it is that the campaign of mutual education upon which the restoration of visible unity depends must have as its chief adjunct and instrument a general revival of interest and of labour in constructive synthesis, in Dogmatic Theology.

(e) Such a revival will greatly fortify Christian apologetic. Apologetical Theology is being cultivated by many capable scholars, but is handicapped by the excessive dominance of the analytical habit which I have been discussing. The apologist specializes in those particulars of the Christian position which are under attack. They are attacked as isolated propositions—that is, as imperfectly understood, for they cannot be adequately understood except in their context of truth. Apologists too often fall into the same snare. The Christian propositions which they defend are defended as if they were wholes instead of parts of a larger whole. The Christian position is one—not many. Its elements stand or fall together, and its full strength does not appear in discussions of its particulars, separately regarded. An adequate apologetic is one which exhibits the Christian position in its synthetic unity as a self-coherent body of truth, the credibility of which lies largely in the coherent unity of its parts. The appeal to intelligence of the Christian faith when exhibited as an organic whole is often successful where argumentation concerning its particulars fails because leading nowhere. But a background of adequate Dogmatic Theology is required, if apologists are to present such an appeal.

(f) Finally, there is the effect of Dogmatic Theology on preaching. Genuine gospel preaching, which is largely doctrinal necessarily, has greatly suffered in our time, giving way to sermons on miscellaneous moral and semi-political questions of the day. One of the chief reasons

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for this is the decay of theological study by the clergy. Doctrinal sermons are disliked because they are usually abstract and dull; but their abstractness is not due to the causes popularly supposed. It arises neither from the scholarly attainments of the clergy nor from any intrinsic dullness of doctrinal subjects. Sound doctrine represents the truths by which a sincere Christian seeks to live; and interest in Christian ideals of life carries with it interest in the truths which lie behind, explain and justify these ideals. Were the knowledge of Christian doctrine to become extinct, Christian ideals would soon die out, as having no basis and no future. It is a frequently verified fact that really intelligent doctrinal preaching draws great throngs of people, who recognize without difficulty that such preaching is exceedingly helpful to Christian living. Doctrine is not dull except when badly and ignorantly handled.

No doubt bookwormishness, to use a dreadful word, is prejudicial to live preaching. But it is equally prejudicial to sound scholarship, just as aimless sight-seeing is inconsistent with intelligent observation. To preach interestingly and effectively on doctrine is all one with preaching with adequate mastery of the subject, and such mastery of doctrinal subjects depends upon systematic study of Christian doctrines, that is, of the constructive relations and bearings of these doctrines, as well as of their several contents. And this study must be adequate, if the preacher is to emancipate himself from the technique of the subject—needed for student purposes but obnoxious in the pulpit. The usual reason why so many doctrinal sermons go over the heads of people is not that they are too profound, but that they are too academic; and a doctrinal preacher cannot escape the academic until he has transcended it by thorough study of Constructive Theology on large lines. It is by such study that he is enabled to perceive the manifold aspects and practical bearings of doctrine,

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and to translate the technical terms of Theology into whatever forms of exposition are practically effective. The late Canon Liddon was able to preach doctrine interestingly and effectively because he was a master of Theology. Many a preacher fails, and is tempted to turn away from gospel preaching, because of slender theological equipment and consequent incapacity to teach doctrine in a vital way.

The primary subject of Dogmatic Theology is God, and those who study it are either directly or indirectly improving their knowledge of Him. "And this is eternal life, that they might know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent."

The Church of Christ in Process of Transformation

BY GEORGE WILLIAM DOUGLAS, D.D.,
Senior Canon of the Cathedral of New York.

Considering its size, Philo¹ is fairly representative of Protestant Churches. Personally we find it a "Get-Together" Club. This is one of its benefits to our minds and spirits. But however it be with us individually, we are well aware that our respective Churches, as such, are getting together but slowly, at any rate to human eyes. Two of the points at which such approach appears to be slow are Organization and Doctrine. In this paper I endeavour to confine myself to organization.

My subject is The Church of Christ in Process of Transformation, that is to say, of changing its form of polity or constitution. Now whenever clergymen get talking about ecclesiastical constitutions, it is at the back of many minds, not only that the constitution of their particular denomination is as good or better than any other, *i. e.*, more workable, but also that there is strong ground for a learned argument that, according to the New Testament and the documentary evidence of the Primitive

¹This paper was originally prepared by request of Dr. Foakes Jackson and read to his Seminar at Union Theological Seminary, New York, composed partly of ministers from the Orient who have come back for a year's special study. Subsequently it was read to the Philothean Society, familiarly known by its members as "Philo." Philo was founded in 1867, and is composed of ministers of various denominations. Thereupon the author was requested to read his paper also to The Ministerial Association of The Oranges, at the Parish House of Grace Church, Orange, New Jersey. This association includes Roman Catholics and Jews. Finally it was read by appointment to The Clericus, an association of ministers of the Protestant Episcopal Church in New York and vicinity.

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Church, the form of the constitution of this or that clergyman's particular Church is nearest to what Christ originally prescribed, or permitted His first Apostles to prescribe; and that this fact settles the question.

Notice that here two lines of argument converge. One is, that a certain form of polity is most *workable*. The other is, that it is nearest to Christ's original intention, and therefore should not be changed.

Per contra, my contention is, that what is workable now, or was so formerly, is not unlikely to be less workable in that precise form under new conditions; so that the question of workableness is always open. And further I contend that by His own words and actions our Lord indicated that, whatever His Church's primitive constitution might be, it was bound to change. Indeed I think it may be fairly concluded that the more primitive this or that form of the Church's constitution may be, so much the more probable—both scientifically and spiritually—that from time to time such form must be reconstituted; that any form of polity—primitive, mediæval, of the Reformation period, or today—is *ipso facto* destined to be transformed. In this respect Heraclitus was scientifically and spiritually right: πάντα χωρεῖ everything is in transition. This is what Internationalism is now claiming in the political field, as against the narrow Nationalism of former times. Anyone who studies what the great constitutional lawyers have to say nowadays about Internationalism can see that it involves a radical reconstitution for hitherto separate nationalities; and a somewhat similar reorganization of ecclesiastical bodies is involved in the movement for a better unification of the Churches of Christ. And if Christ is to be our Guide in the religious life, the New Testament, taken as it stands, shows that in setting His imprimatur on the spiritual life of His Church He did not mean to tie it irrevocably to the precise form which that life then assumed, even if it can be demonstrated that that form

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had His, or His Apostles', express sanction for the time being. Christ intended the guidance of His Spirit to be a real guidance, and His promise covered all such "changes and chances of this mortal life."

Not to mention other parts of the New Testament, the actions and epistles of St. Paul are very illuminating in this connection, especially when taken in connection with the life and words of Christ; though the entire New Testament is to the same effect. Thus we are all familiar with the passage in St. Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians where he speaks of the individual human body as capable, not only of resurrection, but of transformation, as of a seed into plant or tree. Take that in connection with his description of the Church as the Body of Christ. Doubtless in both cases the illustration, though prophetic, is not complete. Perhaps, as in another case, St. Paul would say here also: "Which things are an allegory." Sticklers may even argue that in Corinthians the metaphor is as mixed as that in Ephesians where Paul speaks of "the building up, or edifying, of the Body of Christ," and again of "a full-grown man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ," etc. But however that be, we cannot fail to notice how St. Paul's designation of the Church as the Body of Christ soon passes over from what might at first be regarded as mere metaphor, and is used as a description of actual fact; and that the New Testament record of the beginnings of Church history describes the Church as behaving as if such was the fact. The Church's gradual transformation is to St. Paul's eyes actual, and his description of the Church as Christ's Body is as objective and pragmatic as when he speaks of Angels as real beings, good and bad, mustering their unseen army among mankind. Neither in the one case nor the other does St. Paul intend his description to be taken as a mere metaphor, any more than Christ did when He spoke of the Vine and the Branches. Life is always ineffable, but

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the description of the life-process as a transformation is as near as we can get.

Now until modern physical science arrived upon the scene, and disclosed to us the atom and the electron, and the cells in our own bodies, it was easier to say that the aforesaid expressions must not be pressed: that at best they must be regarded, not as scientific, but as mystical: that if not metaphorical, they are at any rate mystical—the term whereby many of the devout jumble together and cover up a large domain of human experiences which are inscrutable to most people. But now natural science has disclosed that even the individual human body (which each of us knows best in all the world) is very much the sort of entity which the New Testament indicates the Church to be. It was already granted that the Church, like the State, is an organization of individuals animated, consolidated, and more or less controlled by an informing Spirit; and now science makes manifest that the individual's body is much the same. Nay, is not this what the Atomic Theory represents the whole universe to be? It appears that in matter as a whole there is what Bergson terms *l'élan vital*—a transmuting, informing spirit: that, whatever name be given to it, a transforming spirit indwells not alone this or that individual object, but the entire aggregate, and the aggregation of aggregates which we call the universe so far as we can peer into it. Now my contention is, that this conclusion of the New Testament and modern science taken together should be applied, not only to our general conception of what the Church's constitution is capable of, but in particular to the much discussed problem of Ecclesiastical Reunion. Internationalism is in the air, and so is Intercommunion. Internationalism will be an Intercommunion of States. Church Unity confronts us with the problem of an Intercommunion of Churches. What if both of these be but samples of the process of reconstitution by transformation which belongs to all

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vitality as such? Is it not already evident that the two problems interlock, and that each in its own sphere involves a profound change of present constitution?

Let us go back a moment to what St. Paul said to the Corinthians. Let us consider biologically, both from the scientific and the spiritual point of view, the illustration which the human body afforded to St. Paul in matters ecclesiastical. Without presuming that the illustration is complete, or can be pressed too far, let us admit that the Apostle to the Gentiles intended it to be illustrative and prophetic of the process of Christian experience, personal and ecclesiastical, whereby the individual Christian and the Church as a whole are "transformed into Christ's image." And as we pursue our study let us have in mind the very words that the Gospel of St. John gives as Christ's prayer for Christian Unity, whereby He explains the less by the greater and carries us even to the mystery of God's own ineffable Being. Surely no devout Christian imagines that our Lord was dealing out to us a mere metaphor when He prayed: "that they may be all one; even as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be in Us: that they may be one, even as We are One: I in them, and Thou in Me, that they may be made perfect² in one."

Your individual body is an aggregation and concentration of a million cells or bodies; each cell with a selfhood of its own, but all unified by an informing soul. We take the aggregation of cells as an expression of your selfhood; yet nobody ever saw the very *you*. Nobody knows just where you are. You are hidden away in a body composed of many bodies. You find yourself (in the phrase of Christ's parable of the Prodigal Son, you *come to yourself*) in what science estimates as an aggregation of innumerable cells or bodies. If any one of the million cells loses its selfhood, it wanes and dies; and

² In the Greek the root word for "made perfect" is the same which in the Revised Version of Ephesians 4: 13 is translated "fullgrown."

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if enough of the cells lose their selfhood the whole human body dies, *i.e.*, passes through a very striking transformation, for Christ showed that even in death the transformation is not extinction. But even before death, from the period of protoplasm onward to old-age, there are prophetic though lesser changes. Throughout these lesser changes of your life before death everybody who knows you finds in you a mind of your own, a memory of your own, a will of your own; in short, a soul of your own so personal as to be capable of persisting in and by perpetual changes.³ And as to death, Christ foretells for you what He manifested in Himself, the same personally persistent life. Unquestionably the form is throughout associated with the life for the time being, and has much to do with its expression; though as soon as the germ has emerged from the mother's womb, on through childhood and manhood your friends notice, even if you do not, the subtle signs of change, and under medical analysis and observation the structural changes are very marked. Furthermore, if with Professor Henry Fairfield Osborn we trace backward the more than 25,000 years of man's development on this planet, from the dim days of "The Men of the Old Stone Age" the record on the rocks gives picturesque account of the radical changes of man's bodily, mental and moral constitution, although Professor Osborn finds throughout these the identical self-conscious entity. Thus this human organism, whether racial or individual, contrives to hold its own, reacting to the combined impulsion of an interior vital energy and the push of circumstances, just as, ever since their history began to be written, the Churches and the States have done from period to period. And as for our instinctive clinging to our present given forms of

³ Cp., *On the Threshold of the Unseen*, chap. XI, by Sir William F. Barrett, F. R. S., New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., also Sir Oliver Lodge's Address on Continuity to the British Association. London, J. M. Dent & Sons.

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ecclesiastical organization or polity,—our inveterate refusal to recognize the alterations which, in spite of or because of their constitution, are going on in every Church, as in every State, throughout the world, how like this is to our devotion to the bodily frame of ourselves and of our friends. As Shakespeare says in *Hamlet*, "What a piece of work is man! in form and moving how express and admirable! the beauty of the world! the paragon of animals!" Our affection and imagination fasten to the charm of bodily form as if it were not fleeting before our very eyes, and as if every little while we were not obliged to bury the forms of our beloved and abandon them as dust to dust. Yet the wise do not allow their affection to be inextricably identified with the transitory form of it. Even on Pagan lips the cry "*Anima vagula!*" (O passing soul!) bore testimony to man's indomitable conviction that the soul is on a journey, and, like the worm emerging in the butterfly, endures the transformation.

Life! we've been long together
Through pleasant and through cloudy weather. . . .
Say not Good Night,—but in some brighter clime
Bid me Good Morning!

Speaking of the change from worm to butterfly, that is a case constantly before our earthly eyes of life enduring an entire change of constitution. Says that great scientist, Sir Alfred Wallace: "The caterpillar often in two or three weeks of chrysalis life has its whole internal, muscular, nervous, locomotive and alimentary organs decomposed and recomposed into a totally different being, an absolute miracle if ever there is one, quite as wonderful as would be the production of a complex marine organism out of a mass of protoplasm."⁴ And Christians, who by the amply witnessed experience of Christ Himself, have long ago been absolutely assured of the persistence of individual human life beyond the

⁴ *Letters and Reminiscences*, by James Marchant, vol. ii., p. 89.

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grave, should be thereby made all the readier to admit the ecclesiastical consequences of this, since the New Testament expressly calls the Church the Body of Christ; though that is precisely what the average clerical mind in all Christian denominations still refuses to do when called on to apply it to the transformation of Christendom. We hang on to our present given form of ecclesiastical polity as if it were so sacrosanct that to reconstitute it would be a breach of trust. States may change and grow, for they are secular. Kingdoms may pass over into republics, autocracies into democracies, manifesting vital energy; but the organization of the Church, being of Divine Right, is supposed to be incapable of constitutional change. And if any Church has still substantially the primitive form, of course it must stick to it. That is the argument. But if we know of Divine Right in this world, organized life has it, civic and ecclesiastical, no less than the individual body; for vitality is of God. And even if there be provable historic forms of organic being that started in possession of such right, these *ipso facto* included and presupposed the Divine Right to live by transformation. This is what Richard Hooker said to his monumental *Study of Church Polity* with a view to the divisions of the Church at the Reformation: "Nature tendeth to validities." It is also what the "High Church" Bishop Andrewes said, a little later, when he wrote: "Though our (Episcopal) government be of Divine Right, it follows not that a Church cannot stand without it. He must needs be stone-blind that sees not Churches standing without it. . . . He must be made of iron who denies them salvation. We are not those iron people. We make a wide difference between these things." Bishop White's Preface to the American book of Common Prayer took substantially the same position. Recently the late Bishop John Wordsworth, of Salisbury, reviewed the whole question in the light of the most modern erudition,

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and of the experience of Christian missionaries, and his conclusion was the same. And the Lambeth Conference of 1908 pronounced itself in these far-seeing terms:

"We must set before us the Church of Christ as He would have it, one Spirit and one body, enriched with all those elements of divine truth which the separate communities of Christians now emphasize severally, strengthened by the interaction of all the gifts and graces which our divisions now hold asunder, filled with all the fullness of God. We dare not in the name of peace barter away those precious things of which we have been made stewards. Neither can we wish others to be unfaithful to trusts which they hold no less sacred. We must fix our eyes on the Church of the future, which is to be adorned with all the precious things, both theirs and ours. We must constantly desire not compromise but comprehension, not uniformity but unity."⁶

Not that we must not lay great stress on the form of the Church from time to time; for this, though not invaluable, is very valuable until it is outlived. We know no life that is not for the time being attached to form. Christ, like nature, laid stress on form. His parables from nature showed His sensitiveness to beauty of form. But if we look to His own human life, we shall take the transitoriness of form as a sign of the transcendence of vitality. And as to ecclesiastical polity, no amount of historical erudition has been able to prove that Christ Himself prescribed a definite form for it, or forbade His Apostles to change what they devised. Even Bishop Gore, the High Anglican, is driven by his own erudition to admit this, when in his recent book he says, "Christ did not legislate for His Church." To which we do well to add and recollect the, to some persons astounding, fact that Christ left behind Him no written record of Himself whatever.

As to the Biblical history of the Jewish Church previous to Christ's arrival, there are several periods when the record enables us to lay our finger on crises of profound constitutional change, when the force of the interior vitality of the Church reacted to the force of exterior

⁶Quoted by Robert Ellis Thompson, LL.D. *The Historic Episcopate*, p. 288. Philadelphia, The Westminster Press, 1910.

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circumstances, and these largely civil. I have no time now to specify these, but they are patent to the student of the Old Testament history. Furthermore, then as now, between the constitutional alterations from period to period, whatever the formal constitution of the Jewish Church was, it did not secure or effectuate its ideal; and even the regular ministers and officials, who ought to have been an example to the flock of constitutional efficiency, did not continuously maintain the spirit and intention of the forms they practised. And it was "like Priest like people." This is the burden of the Prophets and the sigh of the Psalms. Yet in all those centuries God laid stress on whatever was the constitution for the time being, and did not withhold His blessing for the new form on the mere ground that the Jewish Church had changed its polity. God recognized the altered ecclesiastical constitution as He did the civil, when to judges the Jews preferred a king and God said by the mouth of Samuel: "Now therefore behold the king whom ye have chosen, and whom ye have desired! and behold, the Lord hath set a king over you. . . . But if ye will not obey the voice of the Lord, then shall the hand of the Lord be against you, as it was against your fathers. . . . For the Lord will not forsake His people, for His great Name's sake" (I Sam. 12 : 13, 15, 22). And still the Bible grew magnificently on from one book to another, parallel to the changes in the ecclesiastical system, making worshippers of those who had the will to worship in the synagogues and Temple which their constitution provided, and who fed on the spiritual food: here a John the Baptist, and there an Elizabeth and a Zechariah, waiting for the Lord's coming and abiding patiently on Him. It was then very much as it is now with our Church services and sacraments and ordinations and Sunday Schools, with our system of Synods and our endowed institutions. The system was there, and could not be dispensed with till the proper

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time for change. It kept things going for the comparatively few who faithfully availed themselves of it.⁶ But, in spite of the ecclesiastics' desire to the contrary, the system was not sacrosanct. As the Hebrew prophets themselves amply testified, it was always on the brink of reconstitution. And just when the alteration was becoming, as the Jews thought, a desecration civil and ecclesiastical, because heathen Rome stepped in to enforce both civil and ecclesiastical order, in the *Pax Romana* Jesus Christ was born. Nothing but the strong Roman hand for a spell kept down the rebellious Jews and enabled Jesus to live His life and preach His gospel, until the Roman lifted his hand a little and allowed Jesus to be crucified "in His hour." No wonder that from his retrospect of that short span of thirty years St. Paul the Apostle carried over his impression of the interaction of the civil with the ecclesiastical constitution, and could say even of Pagan Rome, "The powers that be are ordained of God."

But what did Christ Himself do about it? How did He regard the whole situation? To the amazement of the ecclesiastics, in answer to an explicit question, Jesus said, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's"; and to the Woman of Samaria: "Woman, believe Me, the

⁶For the sake of comparison it may well be stated here that careful calculation shows that in the Middle West of the U. S. A., in a population of 30,000,000, there are 10,650,000 nominal Church members, of whom 4,000,000 are nominal Roman Catholics. The Roman Catholics have 132 members for one thousand of the population; the Methodists 53; other denominations in a decreasing scale. Thus the Middle West, the heart of America, presents us with an enormous area, a complex population of many tongues and traditions, of which two-thirds are unchurched. From this it is by no means to be concluded that two-thirds of the population are godless. The heart of the U. S. A. is not only rich, active and progressive, but striving for social uplift and improved education. It is possessed of much unorganized religious sentiment. But organized religion has little or no hold on the population, although mercy, righteousness, justice and charity are evidently more and more vital among them. See article on *Religious Conditions in the Middle West*, by the Rev. G. P. Atwater, in *The Churchman*, New York, January 26, 1918, p. 121.

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hour cometh when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father. . . . The hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and truth: for the Father seeketh such to worship Him." And this and similar utterances of Christ are substantiated by what He did and by what He refrained from doing. So little stress did Christ Himself lay on any definite and particular form of organization for His Church, in preference to another form, that before and ever since the Reformation, when circumstances led ecclesiastics to scrutinize this question because of disputes as to what exactly the original polity was, nothing decisive could be adduced. In the absence of explicit directions by Christ it appeared that Christ left it to be settled by Christians themselves, assisted by the indwelling Holy Ghost, Whose guidance Christ promised, not to the first disciples alone, but also to their followers forever. What the New Testament emphasizes is the proper spirit of the Christian Society, and the importance of not dropping the Apostolic reins and fellowship. Furthermore it is evident that from the start the new Christian organization owed a great deal of its form to the surrounding Jewish and Pagan organizations of religion. Christians could still worship in the Jewish Temple and assemble in the synagogues, as Christ Himself had done; and they took over, from both the Jew and the Roman and the Greek, methods of administration for the Christian polity. The very names Bishop, Deacon, Presbyter and Priest were thus derived, being transformations of old offices. As to the old offices and forms of Judaism, Christ Himself had openly respected them. In spite of His not insisting on a single type of polity, which so amazes some modern minds, He openly treated the then existing Jewish Church constitution as valuable, even if not invaluable. Though He insisted that Judaism was a transitory phase of real religion, and foretold its utter overthrow a little later, saying, "O

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Jerusalem, if thou hadst known the time of thy visitation!" nevertheless, until the end should arrive, Christ set such value on the devout practice of the current Judaism that He Himself conformed to it, and advised His disciples to render proper homage to the Hierarchy; as when He charged the lepers: "Go, shew yourselves unto the Priests"; or again, to the inner circle of His followers: "Go ye up unto this Feast." Just because He was to transform Judaism, He valued that which was to be transformed. Yet *per contra*, He was plainly conscious that neither His Person nor His career were enhanced by the Church Polity of His people; that the Church was not only blind, but positively hostile to Him; and that though His ministry was first of all to Jewish churchmen, and most of the few who accepted Him were pious Jews, nevertheless He found not in all Israel so great faith as in a certain Gentile centurion; and the time would come when countless outsiders would accept Him, while "the children of the Kingdom would be cast out." By His Life, by His message, by His unique Personality, He transcended the constitution of the Jewish religion, and drew His followers out of it by a process of transformation.

Similarly after Christ's departure, there is no evidence that a definite new form for the Christian polity was thought out by anybody beforehand, as modern organizers lay out a constitution. *Solvitur ambulando* appears to have been the rule, if for no other reason than that the Primitive Christians supposed that all their arrangements were temporary, and the main thing was to grow in grace while they waited for their Lord's second advent, when there was to be a new heaven and a new earth. When circumstances changed and they abandoned their expectations of Christ's immediate return, they naturally paid more attention to their Body as an organism for protective and extensive purposes; for how true Christ's description of them was: "Behold, I send you forth as

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sheep in the midst of wolves." So in order to secure their longer future in this dangerous world the Christian Society, as our meagre documentary evidence indicates, adopted methods, some of them experimental, which they felt free to modify according to the occasion. One or another, of the few original Apostles that remained, initiated, or endorsed, or allowed these methods, which the experience of the Society was to test in the inevitable interaction of Church and State; but always with the conviction that, in the true Christian's estimate of time and eternity, "the time was short and the Lord at hand."

Yet at the very start, as ever since, there were "Growing Pains." Men's natural attachment to their inherited and given forms made them fearful of reconstitution. Such "Growing Pains" were manifest when Christ Himself contended with the reactionary Jewish Hierarchy; again when Gentile converts were admitted to the Jewish-Christian organism on new terms; again when St. Paul was recognized as a true Apostle without having conferred with flesh and blood, or having gone up to Jerusalem to them that were Apostles before Him (Gal. 1 : 18—2 : 4); and again, beyond the New Testament though still in the Primitive Period, when at Jerusalem the Church Polity was different from that at Alexandria, while Rome had peculiarities of her own. Yet in spite of "Growing Pains," the Body of Christ as a vital organism was still in the Way of Life. In the language of theologians, there was "an extension of the Incarnation" of Jesus Christ, Who maketh all things new.

Thou art the Way.
Hadst Thou been nothing but the Goal,
I cannot say
If Thou hadst ever met my soul.

If there were time and space for it in this paper I might give ampler illustrations of my theme from the period of the Reformation, which has been brought vividly to all our minds by the Quadricentenary of

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Luther. At the Reformation we have a conspicuous exhibition of Christ's Body in process of transformation. Many ecclesiastics and many pious laymen were aghast at this: they did not have the insight of such as Hooker and Andrewes, whom I quoted just above. But Hooker and Andrewes, like Bishop White of Pennsylvania and Bishop John Wordsworth later on, recognized that the Reformation was an instance of the interior energy of Christ Himself reacting on exterior circumstances both in Church and State, and interacting with "the unruly wills and affections of sinful men." Even so in the cataclysm of this world-war, who can shut his eyes to the prospect that the Orthodox Eastern Church will undergo a profound transformation because of the Russian revolution?

Yet "Looking Backward" is even now too much the order of the day in all the Churches, and in their Conferences on Faith and Order, useful as these are. Newman, in his *Doctrine of Development*, was not all wrong because he looked forward; and we shall not refute his fallacies by simply looking backward to the old paths. Although Newman's application of the universal law of development in support of an Infallible Papacy was a misstatement of facts; although since the dogma of papal infallibility was promulgated the Pope has not made a single infallible utterance, not even in this world-war when thousands look to him; although, too, in laying the supposed primitive foundations for his theory Newman's poetic imagination threw over the first era of the Church a light that never actually was on land or sea—even so, if you would meet and vanquish the present claims of the Papacy you must have a sounder and more thorough argument than the mere appeal to either present or primitive ecclesiastical constitutions. For much has been, and much will be, effected by the transformation of such constitutions, under pressure from within and from without. The whole witness of history goes to show that many of our ecclesiastical

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divisions were a vital procedure for the time being of the Christian Body. What Anglican, for example, will now deny this to the Methodists? So too when, as at present, the impulse is not for separation but for reunion. As the movement for Internationalism, which would be an Intercommunion of States, is a good sign of our times, so there is reason for confidence that the present disposition of many of the Christian Churches, not merely to federate for social service or to join sometimes in common prayer, but so to change their constitution that intercommunion between them can come to pass, is a sign and gesture of spiritual vitality. No human being can foresee what the transfigured Church shall ultimately look like, but the vital process is going on. Yet can anyone imagine fruition for it unless and until every part of the Body—Roman Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, Anglican and Protestant Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Congregationalist, Baptist, Methodist, or whatever—has made at least this preliminary admission: that every existing form of Church constitution, if it be vital, possesses the God-given capacity of transformation which belongs to vitality, as such? that it does not continue in one stay?

I have mentioned that Professor Henry Fairfield Osborn has shown that man, as a self-conscious religious entity, has been in process of development for 25,000 years at least; so that, in any proper estimate of the not yet two thousand years of the Christian Body, the Church of Christ is very young. We are still the Primitive Church, in comparison with the long, incalculable developments that lie before us in the eternal process of the Kingdom of God. And in a still more recent lecture, summarizing his new book entitled *The Origin and Evolution of Life*, Professor Osborn says: "If the naturalists have failed to make progress in the search for causes, I believe it is chiefly because they have attempted to reason backward. . . . The cart has always been placed before the

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horse. . . . Thought has turned from matter backward into energy, rather than from energy forward." In his new book Professor Osborn takes "some of the initial steps towards an energy conception of evolution." He says: "With the advent of life the evolutionary process immediately takes a new course; the cosmic processes cease to run down and begin to build up, abandoning old forms and constructing new ones, continually giving birth to an infinite variety of new forms and functions which never appeared in the universe before."

So, then, this great natural scientist finds in the whole physical universe of organic life what I in this paper have tried to set forth as the process of life for Christ's Body the Church. It appears that we need no longer doubt that our religious constitution and our secular or civic constitution are as really of one piece as they seem to be to the historian; and that there are now excellent scientific grounds for the New Testament comparison between the process of an individual's body and that of a body politic or ecclesiastical; and again, between Christ's own individual Body and His Body the Church.

To sum up. The contention of this paper is that the life of every vital organism, ecclesiastical or other, is not a static process but a process or transformation: that as to His Church our Lord acted and spoke according to this principle, and pledged His Holy Spirit to promote it; and that the course of both the Jewish and the Christian Church was such from period to period of the actual history. Therefore for either Catholics or Protestants to endeavour to stick to an ancient form of constitution for the simple reason that it is the primitive form is unsound, not alone from the standpoint of biology and history, but also because in spiritual practice the older a form is the likelier it is that it must be reconstituted if its vitality is to be preserved. From all which it follows that if our Conferences on Faith and Order are to be

⁷Reported in the New York *Evening Post*, Nov. 16, 1917, p. 11.

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effectual, as a preliminary to success there must be on the part of all concerned—Eastern Orthodox, Roman Catholics, Anglicans, and Protestants of all denominations—readiness to admit that for the United Church of the future there must be a general transformation of present ecclesiastical constitutions. In this respect real Catholicism and real Internationalism make similar demands on the vitality of those concerned; and the loftier the ideal the more practical must the preparation be. *Πάντα χωρεῖ.*

Wherefore we shall all do well to choose for our motto the burning words of Canon Scott Holland, written in full view of this world-war, in his recent article on *The Religion of a Moving Changing World*:

"The whole round earth is on the move. That is the cardinal significance of the hour. There has been no parallel in history to the range and scale of this movement. During the last few years, everywhere at once, down went all that barred and obstructed and isolated. Bolts withdrew themselves; doors flung themselves wide. Frontiers seemed of no account. Roads lay open. Ancient civilizations, that had on them, we thought, the very stamp of eternity, crumbled away before our eyes. Conditions which had endured, since man began to be, broke up and vanished. . . . The world-religions of China, Japan and India, are protests against Change. Yet the whole world has committed itself to Change. It has accepted motion as its law of life. The Gospel of Western civilization has taken possession. Man is in movement. But there is just one religion in the world which has seen in motion the law of human life, the key to man's being. It was the Jew who first declared that man is essentially Prophetic. The worth of his existence lies in the future. In what he will be lies the standard of his value. This is how history became the medium of the Divine Revelation of God to man, as well as of man's revelation of himself to God. History is continuous. . . ."

"Arrest is now forbidden man by a yet more absolute decree. Under Christ's law it becomes the sin of sins, the sin of the fixed contented Pharisee, the sin against the Holy Ghost. For man is now endowed with the Spirit whose very existence is motion. It 'proceeds.' Man's vocation is to move on endlessly, in the Face of Jesus Christ."

"Here then is the one and only Religion which the present situation has need of. If only it be given a chance! It must be quick. For the movement of the world is going ahead at a terrible speed. If the world receives no inspiration from the Faith of Jesus Christ, if we at such an hour fail to bring home to men the one offer which can be of any avail, then we shall have made the great Refusal, we shall have blasphemed the Holy Ghost."

Luther and His Modern Historians

BY W. L. BEVAN, PH.D.

In the religious life of the present day sectarianism shows itself to be the most prominent and perhaps the most efficient factor in all ecclesiastical organizations. It really makes very little difference whether some traditional historic name, or whether some comparatively new designation be accepted. The significant feature is its sectarian activity. There is a common foundation in the Christian life of the individuals attached to all religious organizations; but this common foundation has to be subordinated whenever loyalty to the organization comes into question. At such times even those most willing to try to forget sectarian affiliations are offered a choice between individual isolation and a sincere acceptance of the specific principle which attaches them to the group to which they owe allegiance. Sectarianism did not originate in Christendom as an accident; it is a product which goes back to a definite stage of evolution in the history of the Christian Church. Those who are proud of sectarianism and those who regret its existence are at one on this point at least. They know where to find the origin of sectarianism; they know where to trace its principles, and there is no uncertainty in discovering the personalities in history who are concerned with the creation of a sectarian Christianity.

There is something like a general consensus to-day on the need of eliminating from our future Christianity sectarian features. Just because of this consensus it is

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possible with a higher degree of impartiality than ever before to study the age in which sectarianism originated, and also to place in a larger and freer setting the men through whose leadership sectarianism has been imposed upon the world. Perhaps the stage has not yet been reached in which it is possible to fix with the same finality the position to be claimed by Origen, St. Augustine, St. Francis of Assisi, and also the leaders of the anti-papal revolt of the sixteenth century. But every historical student is confident that there are accepted standards to be applied. Just as there is a common effort today through minute research to find the place to be assigned in the French revolution to such men as Mirabeau, Danton, and Robespierre, so there is at least a strong conviction that it should be possible to discover with equal exactness the weight to be assigned in the religious revolution of the sixteenth century to Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin.

Partisan difference and traditional loyalty cannot forever block the way to the ascertainment of truth, or even, which is more important in the case of the Reformation, to the valuation in modern terms of the truth when once ascertained. It is no mere accident that some of the best work done in investigating the career of Calvin at Geneva is to be ascribed to a Roman Catholic scholar, and that also one of the best biographies of the founder of the Society of Jesus should come from the pen of a Protestant. It is no mere accident, either, that an Anglican bishop in writing the history of the Renaissance papacy should be found fault with by an eminent Roman Catholic historian because of a weakness detected on the part of the Anglican scholar in applying primary ethical standards to the lives of the popes who occupied the Roman See immediately prior to the Reformation period.

Such facts as these are only signs of the times. It is coming to be recognized in all parts of the Christian world which has received its orientation to religion

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through the experiences of the sixteenth century, that those experiences can and should be judged with an attempt at least at impartiality. Only a short time ago valuable historical material concerning the life of Martin Luther was collected by Roman Catholic writers, Denifle and Grisar. No one pretends that in the case of either of these Luther biographers has a final unprejudiced non-partisan standpoint been attained; but it is significant that when writing the life of a man where all the critical events of his career naturally became the subjects of contention, members of a religious communion which suffered so much damage from the Lutheran revolt can venture today to profess it as their aim at least to enlarge the area of proof rather than accentuate the zone of controversy.

Depreciation must go the way of exaggeration. A considerable advance in the desire to obtain historic truth by the process of emancipation from partisanship may be seen in the critical estimate of Luther in Ehrhard's book entitled *Catholicism and the Twentieth Century*. Luther, he says, did not start from an intentional criticism of Church teaching and institutions; his conflict with the Catholic Church was the consequence of his attitude towards the great religious question of the personal relationship of man to God in its concentration on the single point of the certainty of salvation. In a further summing up of the whole era of the Reformation he uses the following language: "It cannot be denied that the Reformers pursued great aims with astonishing methods, and with the application of just those methods best suited to the attainment of their aims; influence upon the people, popular language, a treatment of popular issues, and a combination with those holding real political power. These advantages are not often to be seen in connection with the adherents of the old Church, and exactly at that point they were not found where they were most needed; that is, among the German Bishops. They did

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not lay hold of the most efficacious means; they did not understand their times to the same degree as their opponents." There is a full recognition also on the part of recent Roman Catholic critics of the religious power in the Reformation due to Luther's personality. Protestantism has, it is conceded, preserved enough of the essence of Christianity in order to become the source of real religious life.

Among those who have distinguished themselves in this effort to forget the antagonisms of the past are Professor Merkle, who holds the chair of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Würzburg, and Professor Schnitzer, who has made a well-deserved reputation by his careful study of the great Florentine prophet and preacher Savonarola. Merkle made his point of view widely known by a review in which he exposed unsparingly any attempt to revive in these days the slanderous stories regarding Luther's character originating among his opponents in the sixteenth century. It is natural of course to bring Savonarola in relationship with the German leader who showed so much greater statesmanship than the Florentine reformer. Schnitzer holds Luther to have been the climax of the Reform movement directed against the secularized Renaissance papacy. He has no sympathy with the dogma of other Roman Catholic historians who see only light in the mediaeval period and darkness in the Reformation period. As a matter of fact on both sides there were dark and light spots.

Another Roman Catholic writer, Professor Spahn, frankly rejects the theory that Luther embarked upon his conflict with Rome from irreligious motives; that is, from the point of view of a revolutionist who with selfish aims tried to overthrow both the throne and the altar, both secular and spiritual authority. No one should today be guilty of the deception that the Church could have been protected by its chosen leaders from the hurricane of the Reformation after it had once

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broken out. "It is a picture," he says, "combining both tragic and comic elements to see the champions of the Church struggling over technicalities while the ideas of the Reformation were spreading uncontrolled through the districts of Germany." A noble and emphatic protest against lowering the standards of historical research when Luther's life is investigated comes from the pen of the Würzburg professor. "Nothing," he urges, "is more bound to shatter the trust of Protestants in the sincerity and integrity of Catholic historical writing; nothing is more certain to defeat the possibility of a harmonious activity of both confessions in the one sphere where, because of the nature of the subject, it should be most easily attained,—that is, in science—than if the impression were produced that we at any cost wanted to paint in black colours the father of the German Reformation."

The obligations of historical accuracy and non-partisanship do not rest upon one side alone. There is always the popular temptation sanctioned by long usage to undervalue and misunderstand Mediaeval Catholicity, and to exaggerate the high lights in Protestant civilization. This caution is all the more needed because it is not easy to discriminate between a respect for the genius of Luther and a willingness to accept as final the point of view adopted by him in some of his fiery attacks upon the Papal system. It is almost unnecessary to urge that the Middle Ages were not an epoch of degeneration or lack of progress; to those still suffering from this delusion nothing better could be recommended as an antidote than Thomas Carlyle's masterpiece, *Past and Present*.

Yet in spite of the influence of the Romantic movement, in spite of the fascination of the artistic and literary products of the Middle Ages so widely appreciated today, there still remains potent for harm a deep rooted conviction in groups of people actively at work for religious objects in Protestant countries and in the Mission

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Field that there is nothing to learn and much to criticize in the spiritual experience of the Middle Ages. The custom is to single out individuals here and there and praise them because they seem to anticipate the doctrines of the Reformation leaders. The condition of society as a whole in the Middle Ages is pictured as anti-religious or at least so superstitious that only a few golden grains of religion can be discovered in the muddy stream of a degenerate Christendom. This wrong-headed attitude will not of course once for all be abandoned, but it is a matter of satisfaction that the present popular interest in St. Francis of Assisi is both educative and illuminative, in stimulating popular modern sympathy for the religious achievements of Latin Christianity.

The road to a synthesis which values the new without depreciating the old is far from being an easy one. Many avenues today are open which lead towards indifferentism, but these paths are neither accurate scientifically nor will they contribute to social progress. The religious treasures of the past will have to be absorbed and used in the present if the present is to make a genuine contribution to the development of Christian character on a large organized scale. The road is a hard one; its difficulties must not be neglected.

It is a comparatively easy matter to find a common ground for scholarly investigation; it is a comparatively easy matter to attain commonly recognized historical results. But the question of the religious revolution of the sixteenth century is brought home every day in an acute form to a degree not presented by any other historic social change. The exact situation produced on religious life by the Lutheran revolt can best be illustrated by an analogy. Political revolutions are on the whole decisive or they fail altogether. The minority, in the course of time, disappears and is forgotten. No one today would look for the reestablishment in England of the type of monarchical government represented by

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the Stuart kings in the seventeenth century; that type of government with its ideals and its methods passed away in 1689. Again no one today, no matter how ardent his legitimate hopes, would think of restoring in France the old *régime*, the kind of monarchy under which the French people lived during the reigns of Louis XIV and Louis XV. The deluge did actually come, and the whole face of society was altered by the French Revolution. Even with the sentimentalism in American life no American citizen today can hope to restore in any shape or form the relationship between the English-speaking people on this continent and the British Crown which prevailed before the Declaration of Independence.

How altogether different has been the effect of the religious revolution of the sixteenth century! It has not been in any sense complete or universal. In most Christian countries there are found groups of people who have utterly divergent views in regard to the achievements of this revolution, as to the men who brought it about and the principles under which it was conducted. An extraordinary situation is thus produced. Some of the highest ideals cherished by mankind have been brought by it into a chaotic condition. An organization which has as its Magna Charta the proclamation of human brotherhood has been often turned into a machine directed to the establishment of permanent hostility among its members. No political organization could possibly have survived the crisis, long continued and acquiesced in, that brought about the disunion of Christendom.

What sort of social order would there be if every American community had several groups of people of divided political allegiance, each with its own administrative organization constructed to carry out the tenets of its political loyalty? There would be a separate post office, a separate law court, a separate railway station, separate water works, separate electrical supply

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for the inhabitants of the town based upon the fact that they could not agree on the kind of government they preferred to have. The citizens of Anglo-Saxon, of Teutonic, of Slavonic and Romance descent might be firmly resolved to build their dwellings in different ways; some might prefer brick, another group might choose concrete; a smaller body might, if they had money enough, refuse to live in any dwelling unless it were constructed of certain precious woods. All these differences might be made to express visibly and emphatically their divergence in political allegiance.

The practical working out of such disunion in the field of politics and government would bring about a grotesque dream land, but this identical grotesqueness has been made familiar in the communities where Christians of different names dwell together. Concord and the unity among them have well defined limits; the members of the community go to the same post office, they use the same railroad station, they are obliged to appeal to the same law court, but the moment they enter the religious zone they begin to express diversity and the community is fortunate if this diversity does not extend to the limits of rivalry and hostility.

Even in the sixteenth century when a new experiment was being made in religious life and organization the strangeness of the results, the peril to Christian life and character did not pass unobserved. Many of the Humanists irrespective of their national affiliations were alarmed at the possibilities of organized religious animosity. There was something more than timidity which inspired their aversion. George Cassander described the dangers certain to accompany a divided Christendom and illustrated these dangers by a political analogy. The division of the Church seemed to Cassander much like a civil dissension, in which one party complained that the laws had been corrupted by those who controlled the state and that it had been burdened by un-

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just laws. This party had been repelled and condemned, while they were proposing conditions, and had been forced to make a secession. The republic of the Church being divided in two parties had, as he sees it, fallen into a state of bitter hatred and something resembling civil war, with the result that from one side very many unjust demands were made and the other side appeared not willing to concede even what was fair. Both parties had their champions, whose sole object was to defend their own cause and attack the other party. But in both camps there were good and just men left, loyal to the republic and trying to restore it to the original conditions under which it was founded. Such warnings passed unheeded and much of the beneficent work of modern civilized government has been devoted to obstructing the natural results of a divided Christianity.

These are the conditions which make it hard to study the career of Luther from a non-partisan point of view. He cannot be forgotten nor passed over in the smallest town. His work is written in stone and expressed in terms of real estate. For many generations his career and his teaching were closely associated with military undertakings and political rivalries. Protestant nations leagued themselves against Roman Catholic nations, and Roman Catholic nations directed their external and internal policy with a view to preventing the infection of Protestant teaching. It is not surprising, therefore, that Luther should be one of the most debatable figures in modern history. The life of the world was changed by his career. Another civilization came into being with characteristics impressed upon it by his activity. To give a just valuation of his experiences and his point of view is difficult, not simply because of the complexity of his environment, but also because of the energy of his own nature. The work of Erasmus is much easier to estimate than that of Luther.

In the attempt to recover the essentials and the de-

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tails of Luther's life there is no lack of records, materials, and criticism. It is estimated that an ordinary well-found Luther Library would include at least two thousand volumes, small and large. There are in existence over two hundred biographies of Luther, and practically all of the European languages could supply examples with the possible exception of Spanish and Greek. Volumes have been written on Luther's travels, his diseases, his childhood, his death. We know what his achievements were in poetry, in music. His parents, his grandfather and grandmother have not been forgotten. His family life has been scrutinized minutely. His tastes and habits have been analyzed and described. We know what food he had, the kind of beer and wine he drank. All the elements of his personality have been microscopically weighed. His contemporaries, many of them, regarded him as a prophet. Even Albert Dürer thought he was inspired; others regarded him as the realization of ancient prophecies. There came into existence a Luther Legend; people told long after his death of his miraculous power. Even wooden splinters from his house were carefully collected and used as a remedy against toothache.

This stream of admiration showed no lessening in volume until the rationalism of the eighteenth century began to make itself felt. Neither Voltaire nor Frederick the Great spoke of him with enthusiasm. Those who still revered his name in this period celebrated his mildness and geniality and recalled the homely characteristics of his peasant life. While the Pietists looked up to him as a leading man of God, the German Nationalist School of the early nineteenth century treated him as a typical German leader who had avoided the austerities of Puritanism and had shown Germans generally how to become loyal subjects of an autocratic state. It is significant that Goethe revolted against this commonplace reduction of Luther's character and frankly

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said that the permanent interest in him was due to his being an example of productive power, to his ability to do great things and produce great results, enduring and far reaching.

In the age of criticism and liberalism that covered so large a period of the nineteenth century it was only natural that Luther's work should be subjected to a close and impersonal examination. Many of the members of the Liberal school exalt to a position far above him his various contemporaries in the religious field, such men as Zwingli, Karlstadt, and the leaders of the Anabaptists. Albert Ritschl saw in Luther a religious prophet, the originator of a new idea of perfection, and among Ritschl's followers the radical elements of Luther's career make an especial appeal. Harnack selects as the most productive years of the reformer's life the period between 1519 and 1521, because in these years Luther escaped temporarily from the limitations of his own nature. Many even in Germany today hold that Erasmus reached a point of view more unassailable in its defence of a progressive social Christianity than Luther, whom Troeltsch regards as essentially a mediaevalist.

Definitely antagonistic is Nietzsche who has no love for the democratic element in Luther's revolt. He treats Luther as a barbarian, a demagogue, a man essentially narrow-minded because of his peasant origin; the leader of a peasant revolt in Northern Europe which destroyed the intellectual achievements of the Renaissance and prevented the evolution which might have made a Pope out of Caesar Borgia.

All varieties of criticism are to be found in this wide compendium of opinions and prejudices, and it will be seen how in the light of literary history the representatives of the modern historical school both Roman Catholic as well as Protestant are far removed from popular panegyric or popular depreciation. Uninfluenced by the trend of what must be called amateur opinion in either

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direction the historians have gone steadily to work investigating, illustrating, and harmonizing the complicated elements in the life of an extraordinarily active and energetic nature.

In many directions secure results have been obtained. We know, for example, that although Luther was no professed member of the school of Humanists, yet he was acquainted with a large list of Latin authors both writers of prose and poetry. He was also an industrious reader of the great theologians of Christian antiquity, and had made himself familiar with some of the exponents of mediaeval theology. As a translator and exegete of the Bible his own training along humanistic lines was only one element that gave him a conspicuous position as a Bible student. His critical ability naturally reflects the deficiencies of his own age, but he had to a remarkable degree the gift of penetrating the meaning of Biblical phraseology and expressing that meaning in common understandable terms.

It is a mistake then to represent Luther as a man who followed solely the developing force of an untrained peasant nature. He had profited by the discipline received by him as a member of a monastic community, and to what a large use he had put the industrious employment of his time may be shown in the remarkable literary activity of a career which in no way resembled that of a scholarly recluse. His admirers point to an enormous degree of activity, comparable to that achieved by Origen and St. Augustine, and this enormous industry was accomplished in spite of his health, far from robust, it may be remarked, for according to the minute medical investigations by which his physical condition has been scrutinized from his first appearance in public life to his death bed, Luther to-day would have been condemned to seclusion in a hospital most of his active days, so numerous are the diseases from which, according to medical specialists to-day, he suffered.

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In one of his busiest years, 1523, he composed twenty-four different works, large and small, preached one hundred and fifty times, wrote a dissertation on the Fifth Book of Moses that stretches for two hundred and forty-seven pages in the Weimar edition, completed the German translation of the Pentateuch and started a stylistic revision of his Old Testament. His correspondence shows that in this year there were one hundred and twelve letters written, naturally only a fragment of his epistolary activity. In the meantime the doctors tell us that he suffered from constant headache.

Information such as this is sufficient to repel the numerous charges that Luther was essentially a gourmand and distinguished himself chiefly among his contemporaries through his consumption of beer and wine. But Luther's literary industry must be surveyed in its right proportions. It is impossible to regard him as a Humanist, and it may be safely said that nothing he wrote has the general appeal of such works as More's *Utopia* and Erasmus's *Colloquies*. It is equally impossible to place him in the same class with Origen as a commentator on the Bible or to find in him the theological creativeness of St. Augustine. Luther was essentially a man of action. What he wrote was written to influence the people of his day and what he did as a leader of men had a permanent influence far beyond anything he wrote as an author.

Modern historians have carefully scrutinized the sources from which Luther may have drawn his religious system and the polemical principles which he followed in his attack on the Papacy. Valuable information is to be derived on both points from his Roman Catholic biographers. There can now be no question that Luther's familiarity with Occam and the more recent disciples of Occam's school enabled him to put in the most effective language Occam's penetrating criticism of the mediæval Church system. Occam, a hundred and fifty

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years before Luther, stated that Popes and Councils were alike fallible. He questioned whether the monarchical form of Government was desirable for the Church. He refused to the Pope and the Clergy any right to concern themselves with secular affairs, and all Church officials were to be as fully subject to the Emperor as laymen were.

The school of Occam furnished the atmosphere in which Luther's popular anti-Papalism developed, and here too it was not simply a question of institutions. The theological structure of the mediaeval Church itself was weakened by Occam's criticism. It was natural for Luther to be thrown back upon the infallibility of the Bible when the fallibility of the existing Church system had been so frankly accepted by one of the greatest theological teachers of the Middle Ages. The influence of mediaeval mysticism upon Luther is only the other side of Occam's revolt against the metaphysical certainties of the current theological school.

When Luther drew up his theses against indulgences some of Tauler's work was used in paraphrase. Tauler's mysticism served as a guide to rescue Luther from the attitude of uncertainty, depression and scepticism to which the application of Occam's logic would reduce even a strong mind. The experiences of Christ as set down in the Creed must, he learned from Tauler, become the experiences of each individual soul. Every Christian must in one way or another descend to Hell and the rescue must be found alone in God. No soul is left in Hell by God, so Tauler taught, and no soul will be deserted by God unless God Himself is rejected. Why, it may be asked, does God inflict this punishment upon his creatures? It is simply a divine remedy against man's self-centredness. It is the method used by God to secure the surrender of the individual will. It is not surprising that Luther placed Tauler and his school by the side of St. Paul and St. Augustine, because it was through

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mysticism that he himself had overcome his own difficulties and his whole emphasis on Faith is a vivid picture of his own religious experiences.

Up to Luther's time mysticism had been the possession of small groups of devout people. Many of them had been found in religious communities. Luther set about to establish a new religious organization making it rest upon a single principle, justification by faith. It was perhaps the legalization of this single principle that betrays one of the limits of Luther's own genius. He seemed convinced that the phenomena of religious psychology are identical in all individuals. He assumed that man's mind acts in one way when confronted by religious conviction and can only act in this way if genuine results are to be obtained. Luther in this respect was far narrower and more logical than St. Paul. St. Paul was dealing with a definite intellectual environment. Luther proclaimed the doctrine of justification by faith *sub specie aeternatis*. To do so was to encourage the unreality of an endless logomachy.

It is impossible to reduce religion to one channel. Luther's attempt to divide the sheep from the goats and to gain for his own side all the people of good will has proved an expensive experiment. His teaching has often resulted in encouraging numbers of commonplace people to indulge in most irritating forms of fanaticism. Luther himself was a big man, bigger than his partisanship, but his partisanship has encouraged hosts of smaller men to become even smaller than they were by nature. The result has been that we are left to investigators in the realm of the psychology of religion to defend Christianity from a one-sided championship.

Unmistakably effective and characteristic of his unique gifts of practical leadership was Luther's attack upon indulgences. One of the weakest points in the structure of the mediæval Church system was selected for criticism, and it is not remarkable that so much has been written

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on this episode of his career. Long before 1515 Luther expressed freely his discontent with the actual working of the Church. We know he was interested in the reform of theological study. He was thoroughly at one with Erasmus and his school in the desire to overturn the imposing structure of scholastic theology and to make the study of the Bible the central feature of theological study, but a question of this sort would never have stirred up the masses of Church-going Germans as did the discussion of the indulgence propaganda.

Many interests were touched directly and indirectly in Luther's ninety-five propositions. Ethical, doctrinal, political and economic factors were all concerned and Luther's stand won him support in quarters where humanism would have caused a tepid response. Bishop Creighton was one of the first English historical writers to put into understandable shape for the general reader the significance of the indulgence system of the Mediaeval Church. H. C. Lee, the American historian of the Inquisition, had long before the publication of Bishop Creighton's *History of the Papacy*, written exhaustively on the subject. There is no excuse to-day for not knowing exactly what the institution was which Luther singled out for attack and no investigation has deprived him of the credit due to his masterful handling of the subject.

Indulgences were a factor in popular religion long before theological writers began to discuss their justification. It may be that the practice first arose because of the spread of Islam. Mohammed had assured his followers that in case of their meeting death in defense of their faith the doors of Paradise stood immediately open. At least we know that as early as 853 Pope Leo IV. encouraged the Franks to engage in war with the infidel by the promise of immediate entrance into Heaven. Not long afterwards John VIII. expressly conferred absolution on those who had met their death in warfare against the infidel. Such indulgences originally referred

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only to those who had lost their lives, not to the living, and in such high estimation was warfare against the infidel held that its victims were regarded as martyrs, a conviction naïvely set forth in the *Chanson de Roland*, where St. Gabriel and St. Michael are represented as the celestial companions of those who after death at the hands of the infidel in battle are called to share the joys of Paradise.

How far this original conception was lost may be seen in the fact that in the twelfth century those who contributed financially to the support of the Templar Order were given an indulgence. Personal service on the battle field in accordance with mediaeval secular usage might be compensated for by a monetary equivalent. In this way a popular institution intended to secure volunteers for a Crusade became ultimately a method of supplying financial support to the international organization of the Church. The principle besides was not confined to warfare against Islam; those who took part in a pilgrimage to Rome during the jubilee year were accorded special indulgences, and for the pilgrimage could be substituted a financial contribution. A theoretical basis was given to the system by the scholastic teacher Alexander of Hales who explained how the Church could issue indulgences because of the Treasury of Good Works over which it disposed.

Further difficulties as to whether the indulgence released from merely temporal penalties, or whether it extended to suffering in purgatory were all discussed long before Luther started his attack. But a fully rounded dogma had not yet been worked out. The adherents of the theory of Church Government held by the General Councils of the fifteenth century had never consistently supported the indulgence system because it added additional personal authority to the Papacy. Luther selected, therefore, as his point of attack a matter which had been for a long time in debate. Cardinal

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Cajetan himself found it impossible to accuse Luther of heresy simply because of his attack on indulgences. As a practical leader as well as a defender of simple Christian morality Luther's stand made at the time an impression that in a few weeks gave him the popularity of a national figure among his own people.

The historical origins of the indulgence system were not in his mind; probably he knew little about the detailed points that constitute the links in the chain of the indulgence system as practised by the Renaissance papacy. His thesis was directed against the popular teaching of indulgences, against the sort of teaching which proceeded from the indulgence preachers, who stirred up the crowd to contribute liberally by picturing to them the sufferings of their dead parents in purgatory, only waiting to be relieved by a liberal purchase of what might well be called indulgence script. "As soon as the money rattles in the alms box the soul leaps from the purgatorial fire"; this was an expression used in a popular poem condemned in 1482 by the theological faculty of the University of Paris; but academic condemnations had not stopped indulgence preaching. Even after Luther's campaign it continued to be popular: it is estimated that in the five years between 1515 and 1520 nearly two hundred thousand dollars pure profit was derived from the preaching of indulgences in Germany.

Much curious information of unimpeachable accuracy has come from the investigation of Roman Catholic historical students on this critical episode of Luther's career. Especially significant is the work done by a member of the Roman Catholic faculty of Bonn University, Dr. Schulte, who has published in a book dealing with the celebrated Fugger banking house, the papal financial agents, the original records of the indulgence controversy in 1517. All the details fully bear out the shameless nature of the financial factors in the indulgence propaganda. The Archbishop of Mainz, Albert of Bran-

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denburg, has usually been charged with the responsibility for setting the indulgence collectors at work. It now appears from records, unhesitatingly placed at the command of modern students by the authorities of the Vatican Library, that the Roman Curia agreed with the Archbishop to allow him to promote the indulgence propaganda in order to enable him to secure from this source the sum of ten thousand ducats which it had been agreed the Curia were to receive for permitting the union of two other sees to the archiepiscopal see of Mainz. The whole operation is stigmatized by Professor Schulte as nothing more nor less than simony. "If any Church position," here marks, "was ever sold for gold, it was certainly the bishopric of Halberstadt (one of the sees Albert desired to unite with his Archbishopric). This simoniacal proposition originated in the Dataria and was brought before the representatives of the Archbishop by third parties; Leo X and Cardinal Julio Medici gave these people free play; they are just as guilty of simony as Albert and his German agents. That the text of an indulgence should introduce the name of St. Peter in order to supply a Prince of the Church means to secure the money for practising simony and to make it easy for him to accumulate bishoprics is altogether without example. All of those who took part in this indulgence were acting dishonourably."

It is easy to reconstruct in the light of this statement the atmosphere in which Luther undertook to overturn the existing system of Church administration. Many things happened between the publication of the theses and the issuing of the Bull three years later by which Luther was condemned, and during these three years Luther conducted his case and stood his ground in such a way that he contrived to expose at every point the weakness of his opponents. Even Bishop Creighton, no prejudiced witness in Luther's favour, conceded that the situation was badly handled from the point of view of

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the Curia, and that Luther's complaint of indirection and intrigue on the part of his opponents was well justified. The Roman authorities were badly advised by Luther's personal enemies and there was nothing resembling a just or adequate handling of a doctrinal question, much less was there any appreciation of the simple moral issues involved in the debate. There was only a pretense at Rome of a judicial consideration of the case. Political interests entered largely into the decision. The election of a member of the House of Hapsburg to the imperial title seems to have been decisive in preventing the adoption of a moderate course. Leo X himself was in doubt for a long time in regard to the exact policy to be pursued and in his decision he was controlled by motives apparently outside the subject involved in the dispute.

It was significant that on the commission appointed to consider Luther's theses, members of religious orders were appointed that were materially interested in the sale of indulgences. Only one trained theologian was allowed to revise the case, yet even after such a careful preparation for a one-sided revision the evidence shows that unanimity was far from being attained in the College of Cardinals before final action was taken. The emphasis in the condemnation was actually laid upon Luther's appeal to a General Council. One of the Spanish Cardinals was a well-known adherent of the Conciliar theory of Church supremacy and it was probably his opposition and the opposition of those likeminded that prolonged the debates indicated in the records as having occurred.

Even before the final step was taken efforts were made to influence Luther to withdraw. There was an interval of almost three months between the time of the preparation of the Bull in Rome and its appearance in Saxony. Evidently there was a complete misunderstanding in Rome of the situation in the German States due to the election of Charles V. The most violent

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language was used by the members of the Curia against the Elector of Saxony, the protector of Luther. He was described as a cruel tyrant, an enemy of the Holy See, the persecutor of the clergy and a venomous enemy of the Christian religion. Yet it was the Elector of Saxony whom the Pope himself a short time before had regarded as the most likely candidate for the imperial crown. There is every evidence therefore that in Rome the Pope's *laissez faire* attitude encouraged his subordinates to place themselves and him in an unintelligible position during the crisis. The actual effect was that the Elector of Saxony, who was uncertain for some time whether he should retain Luther in his professorship at Wittenberg, became once for all and finally his firm friend and powerful supporter.

After this series of egregious errors there was no chance of imposing upon Germany the papal condemnation of Luther except through the help of the young Emperor, and just at this point what had been a religious quarrel became inextricably complicated with the larger question of imperial rights and privileges in what had been a loosely confederated series of states and cities presided over by a foreign prince suspected of a desire to introduce into Germany the absolute principles of the Spanish monarchy. From this time on Luther's position was sufficiently secure. His cause was associated with a great national struggle and the only question was how to prevent the spread of his teaching. He could even make mistakes, and he did make mistakes, and yet the mistakes he made in no sense helped the Roman Curia, for they lived in one world and the German reformers lived in another. The fact that Charles V. was regarded as the controlling influence in the direction of Papal policy made it easy for Luther's views to secure widespread influence wherever German was spoken.

In his attitude towards the changes produced later on in German political life, Luther cannot be said to

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have shown the alertness manifested by him in the first stages of his career. Even his admirers would find it difficult to allow that he took a sound standpoint either in the Peasant Revolt or in the question of Philip of Hesse's bigamous marriage. More convincing evidences of his statesmanship are to be found in the practical measures introduced by him at Wittenberg for the ordering of the new religious communities in Saxony and also in the hardheadedness displayed in his relations with the Anabaptist leaders. Luther showed a sturdy conservatism; he had no sympathy with abnormal expressions of religious sentiment. It is no wonder in this crisis that he appealed to the authorities of law and order to keep intact the principles he had worked out governing the relation between the individual Christian and the organization of which he was a part. Luther was so firmly convinced of the need of religious liberty in the individual that he looked for the final organizing power in the existing state institution. The crux was how to reconcile the two. He overcame the impasse in his own way, along purely opportunist lines, and he could not foresee the time when German princes would imprison Lutheran theologians because they adopted an individual interpretation of the doctrines of their master and teacher.

In his earlier years Luther held that the authorities of the State had no right to decide questions of belief. Thoughts and their expression must be absolutely free. Every man can believe as he wishes. Freedom of teaching and freedom of worship appeared to be the only legitimate consequences of this principle. Speaking of the Anabaptists he said in the summer of 1524, "Let us allow the spirits to gossip and meet together. If somebody is led astray by this, all right. This is only the rule of a free fight; where there is a fight and struggle somebody must get hurt and fall by the wayside." He refused at this time to concede any right on the part of

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the secular authority to proceed against false teaching. If the false teaching led to mob violence then the local sovereign had the power to suppress such violence but not the false teaching. His later experiences led him to change his policy. Unlimited freedom of teaching and the open expression of doctrines contrary to the Gospel implied sacrilege and the destruction of public security; against such offenses the sovereign had the right to enforce silence and if this policy were not successful to expel the guilty individual from the territory affected.

Even when Luther gave his consent to the execution of Anabaptists he did so on the ground that they were destroyers of the kingdom of this world. In a sermon preached not long before his death he characterized the appeal to force and to the death penalty as altogether useless. In spite of the rigidity adopted in his later years he never accepted to its full extent the practice of inquisitorial investigation and punishment on which Calvinists and Roman Catholics found a common ground. There is reason to believe that Luther would not have sympathized with the burning of Giordano Bruno at Rome or Servetus at Geneva. The open profession of heresy he came to regard as a social danger and he abandoned the milder and earlier plan of dealing solely with those who professed heresy by Scriptural arguments. To criticize him for his failure to become an advocate of religious freedom in general would be most unfair. He was himself the product of a social organization which firmly believed in religious uniformity. Even Sir Thomas More, with his gentle disposition and loyal adherence to the ethics of the New Testament, could not emancipate himself from the existing customary practice by which heretics were subjected to the extreme penalty.

Luther held that the control of religious worship was an essential part of the law of the state. Public preaching, except along recognized and unified lines, would lead to popular disturbances. True religion, clearly known

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and defined as it was, had alone the right to secure tolerance on the part of the state authorities. His conclusion was, therefore, that the authorities of the state were required to suppress the public worship of the Roman Church, and as a corollary to this he held that the suppression of Evangelical preaching was nothing less than a tyrannous suppression of the faith. He advocated therefore the complete prohibition of Roman Catholic worship, and he held it to be justifiable to force the citizens of the state to attend Evangelical public worship and to learn the Lutheran Catechism. In taking this position he felt he was not interfering with the exercise of the conscientious rights of the individual. "In their chambers individuals of other beliefs may pray to and worship whomsoever they will. They can have as many gods as they like." Luther's attitude towards Roman Catholic princes who suppressed Evangelical worship and preaching is illuminative. Such acts, he thought, were the acts of a tyrant. Of course these princes were in open revolt against God's word, but he set his face against encouraging a programme of revolt, even in this case. The subjects of Roman Catholic states who suffered from this kind of tyranny had a means of escape by taking refuge in territories controlled by those like-minded with themselves.

It must not be imagined that in Luther's own mind the postulation of these principles signified the final control of the state over religious organization. The state was expected to support the Church, not to hold it in dependence. State authorities as such had no function in deciding the articles of the faith. To this extent therefore the later development of religious life in Germany, the state-governed church, the *Landeskirche*, is far from being justified by Luther's teaching. Luther's own ideal can be best understood by saying he expected the state to adopt towards the Church the attitude usual in modern governments towards scientific research. The state was to help but not to control.

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There is a distinctly mystical element in Luther's programme of Church organization. It represents a transfer on a larger scale to the whole Christian community of Luther's vision of a correctly ordered monastery. Every Christian congregation was regarded as competent to judge all teaching, i. e., to select and depose its preachers. Indeed every Christian had the right to refuse to accept a preacher in case of error in his teaching. This right of finality in acceptance or rejection of the teacher or preacher was derived from the fellowship shared by each individual in the common community of the faithful. When Luther came to apply this theory to a visible organization he naturally experienced difficulty. To establish an autonomous congregation appeared to him to come in conflict with his views of a social order directed by a strong government. He still adhered, however, to his belief in the autonomous fellowship of all true believers, but its external expression was a different matter; it existed as an object of faith, not as a concrete organism.

Those who are puzzled by the refusal of Luther to press the question of external organization explain this exceptional reserve by his belief that all provisions for the future made in his life-time would have seemed to him temporary expedients. He was convinced that the last times had come and was all the more strengthened in this belief because the anti-Christ was to him visibly incarnated in the papal government of his day. Moreover, the enormous military successes of the Turks, who were the terror of Europe, appeared to prove conclusively that the prophecies regarding Gog and Magog were already being accomplished. Organizing new religious communities was alike unnecessary and unreal. The immediate task as Luther saw it was to reach as many men as possible by the preaching of the Gospel. By this he meant the whole-hearted acceptance of the principle of justification by faith. It appeared to him unnecessary to insist upon the need of co-operation by the state authorities. They must help

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in preparing for the hard experience of the last days; they could not act as lords over the Church, but even if they transcended their natural authority it made little difference, because after all the main thing was to prepare for the fast approaching end.

Luther in the light of modern research was an opportunist; he had a right to be an opportunist because he firmly believed that the world order as he knew it was approaching its close. The inconsistent elements in his theory and his practice he took no pains to reconcile, because his own religious faith forced him to review the present as a zone of activity altogether different from the future. Apparently his own position and his own personal services were always strongly subordinated to the wider vision of a world-wide catastrophe.

In the light of such conditions it is only by a fiction that verbal fidelity can be kept toward the dicta of Luther. Neither can the various confessional documents of the Reformation Age be regarded as having finality. Protestantism has changed as society has changed. In its original shape it was the heir of the Middle Ages; it accepted the mediaeval postulate of uniformity in religious belief as necessary to the existence of the state. A new revolution took place at the end of the seventeenth century, when the principle of religious equality was introduced. Experience had shown that religious societies could exist alongside one another without endangering public tranquillity.

When allegiance to papal authority was abandoned, as a result of Luther's revolt, an authority of an equally tangible kind was set up in its place—the Bible. The Old Testament gave a picture of a theocracy which might be used as an infallible guide for a judaistic model of state control. It seemed to be considered, as in Puritan New England, that as the individual attained salvation through the authority and saving power of the Bible, so the state must aim at producing something resembling a

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revised kingdom of Israel. This literal reproduction of Bible truth has not been able to withstand the influence of the historical spirit by which one is taught that the Bible itself is a product of definite social conditions. Its teaching comes to these later generations as the resultant of spiritual experiences, to be assimilated, not copied, before they can become translated into terms adapted for use today.

Biblical ethics are one thing; the political insitutions contained in the Biblical narrative are related to a past which has disappeared and cannot be revived. Even in the case of Biblical ethics the attempt to give literal values has led to the founding of strange, uncouth sects, which have only preserved a continued existence by a process of isolation.

Modern civilization is the product of the happenings of the sixteenth century, but it is in no way a replica of the principles of Protestant religious organization. England and the United States are not countries which profess allegiance to the Roman See, but they are not in their governmental and social life moulded on the lines which approved themselves to the reformers of the sixteenth century. No one can say that the state organization in England and America today is the outgrowth of the Reformation and nothing else. Constitutional government in the modern sense is an essential part of Christian civilization, yet neither Luther nor Calvin appreciated the meaning or the significance of constitutional government as a means of realizing the social teaching of Christianity.

When one starts to analyze the problem involved in the evolution of religious organizations, as they appear either in Protestant or Roman Catholic countries, one has to bear in mind that the sixteenth century changes were a modification of mediaeval life and theory. Neither the governments which gave their support to the Protestant revolt, nor the society which accepted Protestant

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doctrine, were the product of Protestantism itself. There was no start *ab initio*; there was no vacuum for purely experimental purposes. The situation on a large scale resembled the condition of passive antagonism which always confronts communistic enthusiasts when they set out to found a community based on the principles of communism. The material to be dealt with is the product of different influences and such communities have rarely passed beyond the first stage of experiment.

The reformers, no matter how aggressive they were, no matter how consistent was their logic, could not make a clean sweep of the pre-existing order, either religious or social. In the early days of Christianity small groups were selected from a pagan society; they were trained apart, they were submitted to strict discipline. They had to bear the brunt of government oppression and social disfavour. Yet, with all these factors favouring segregation, nothing is clearer than the infiltration into the early Christian communities of tendencies and traditions derived from the Graeco-Roman world. The Reformation was conducted on far different lines. The changes were by territories and nations, not by small groups; there was no time for education, no opportunity for discipline; the transformation took place *en masse*.

There is much in the modern State that is nothing more than a residuum of mediaeval society, and when one says mediaeval society one means, roughly speaking, a combination of Teutonic tribalism, Christian ecclesiasticism, and Graeco-Roman culture. All these factors are visible in modern society, yet they have nothing directly to do with the religious system promulgated by the reformers. It was concentrated on the assurance of personal salvation. The question was not a new one, but the reformers answered it in a new way. The elements in their doctrinal system were in no sense newly created, however; predestination, original sin, the Atonement, were not discoveries of the Reformation period. A dif-

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ferent emphasis is given, but the difference between the old and the new consists in combination, in elimination, rather than in a fresh start.

Church life was continuous, but Church institutionalism was rejected. The value of preaching, the infallibility of the Bible were not novel elements in the life of the Mediaeval Church. What was new in the Reform movement was the elimination of the hierarchical authority in the Church, with its appeal to tradition, and the substitution for it of the individual assurance of salvation, supported by an appeal to the Bible as the final arbiter. The Church was retained, but its functions were now interpreted by the Bible and by nothing else. It seemed to be the hope of the reformers at first that their views would be accepted universally; *per se*, it was not a sectarian policy; they aimed to protestantize the whole Church organization and not a mere fraction of it. As both Church and State were to be subject to the supreme authority of the Bible, the old conflict between the secular and the spiritual world could have no longer any meaning. To the State fell the duty of protecting the Church as the instrument in which the work of individual salvation was being fulfilled, while the Church was expected, without conflict or self-seeking, to explain to the civil authorities the line of conduct laid down for governments in the Scriptures.

It will be seen from this how logical in the formal sense the reformers were in substituting for the papacy an infallible tribunal in the shape of the Bible. Separation of the powers of State and Church was not contemplated; spiritual authority included within its sphere the whole range of life. Wherever the Bible was explicit in its teaching no barrier could be set up. Uniformity must prevail where Divine Revelation spoke in a definite way. Some concession was made by allowing that the Bible did not speak on every subject; in this neutral sphere were so-called things indifferent or *adiaphora*, but there was

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by no means an agreement as to their extent and character. Among the Lutherans there was great rigidity as to the Sacrament of the Eucharist and the dogmatic terminology regarding Grace and Faith, while the Calvinists were strongly insistent on maintaining a fixed form of Church discipline and leadership.

There is often a misunderstanding of the actual aims of the Reformers as to how far they were working for religious separation. Finality in organization was not claimed. The decisive factor that worked for a permanent cleavage was the fear of imperial absolutism in the German States rather than the desire to prepare a new series of theological formulas. The foundation stone of Lutheran doctrine is the Augsburg Confession, yet the spirit in which this document was composed can be determined by the words of its author. Melanchthon, in reference to the whole controversy with Roman Catholics, explained his position by saying, "The question is concerning certain abuses." Luther himself it appears became wearied of the stress of constant theological discussion and felt inclined to allow it only a subordinate place. "Abraham," he said, "had faith; therefore Abraham was a good Christian."

German Roman Catholics failed to understand why the doctrinal views of Lutherans must be regarded as barriers to the making of an agreement by which a division in the Church might be avoided. The Bishop of Augsburg was in favour of making concessions. "We are agreed," another Roman Catholic prelate declared, after seeing the Augsburg Confession, "on all the articles of the faith." All attempts to discover a field of concession were frustrated by the difficulty arising over the Church property which had been confiscated in German states and cities where Lutheranism had spread. Nothing was done to lessen the bitterness of those Roman Catholic partisans who asked for all or nothing.

Charles V, Spanish as he was, and irreconcilable where

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he saw the rights of the imperial power attacked, changed his mind in regard to Luther's supporters; at first he was in favour of the most drastic methods of repression; then, when he discovered that they denied no article of the faith and accepted whole-heartedly the Apostles' Creed, he inclined to milder measures. Even the Archbishop of Seville was instrumental in inducing the Emperor to adopt a more amenable temper. He begged the Emperor to come to terms with the Protestants and leave them to their religion, provided they were faithful to him. Clement VII himself had no love for violence as a method of settling this religious dispute; being an Italian, diplomacy appealed to him as the better way, and he suggested that the Emperor would do well to appear in Germany without an army.

The consciousness of a final religious difference, incapable of obliteration, which marks the subsequent religious history of Western Europe, did not predominate in the mind of Luther himself when he wrote the following words describing his attitude towards Latin Christianity: "We admit," he said, in criticizing the Anabaptists, "that under the papacy there is very much of the good that is in Christianity. Nay, more, that all the good of Christianity is there, and also that the papacy was the source whence we derived it. In fact, we admit that the papal system has the true Scriptures, true baptism, the true sacrament of the altar, the true keys of the forgiveness of sins, the true office of preaching, the true method of oral instruction, consisting of the Lord's Prayer, the ten commandments, and the articles of the Creed. I go further, and say that under the papal system there is a true Christianity; nay, more, the true kernel of Christianity."

In the closing volume of his history of the papacy Bishop Creighton gives what is meant to be and what almost succeeds in being an objective account of the early and critical years of Luther's revolt. His account

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has been criticized because it represents Luther's action as a bolt from the blue; this was the expression used by one of the German reviewers of Bishop Creighton's in the *Historische Zeitschrift*. One of the latest summaries of the way the ground was prepared for the religious revolution in Germany is to be found in Ludwig Pastor's *History of the Popes*, a work which represents minute research in the Vatican archives for materials that throw light upon the history of the papacy prior to and during the Reformation period. Professor Pastor cannot claim to possess great literary skill, but he is a conscientious and industrious student, and he does his best to steer his way through the complicated channels of fifteenth and sixteenth century papal history. He is a sincerely attached adherent of the Roman Catholic communion, but it is obvious that whenever he deals with questions relating to Protestantism he tries to hold to non-partisan standards.

In Pastor's opinion Luther was a personality of a type not often produced in the history of mankind. He sees no hope of reaching a final analysis of his character, yet he thinks that both friend and foe will agree on one point—that even allowing for the significance of Luther's personality he could not have accomplished the work he did, had he not been aided by his environment. In other words, Luther supplied the match, but the material for the conflagration was already in existence.

German religious life in Luther's day was, as Professor Pastor sees it, in a most unsatisfactory condition. Abuses in the Church were so numerous that various observers of the conditions of Christian life anticipated God's judgment upon the Church in Germany. The chief cause of this generally acknowledged corruption was the material prosperity of the Church. Such prosperity was an unhealthy growth in a country which had not advanced as a whole economically in comparison with other European countries. The wealth of the Church did more

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han awake the envy and hate of the lay people; the servants of the Church itself were exposed to evil influences. Because of the material prosperity of the Church its important official positions were occupied by members of the aristocracy almost exclusively. In the case of the higher clergy, therefore, one can hardly speak of the existence of vocation; for example, the members of cathedral chapters were frequently youthful canons, lax in life, and secular in taste, whose chief object was to accumulate positions with large incomes. The German episcopate was made up chiefly of aristocratic office-holders interested in producing an impression as secular sovereigns.

Much discontent was expressed at the low ideals of the German episcopate before Luther's time. The bishops were accused of paying little attention to preaching or to the cure of souls. Their devotion to the pleasures of the chase, their efforts to maintain the customs of court life, were singled out as examples of abuse. They were charged with nepotism, and with the encouragement of worthless theologians and shrewd lawyers as their closest advisers. Diocesan administration had fallen into the background and the bishops took little or no interest in seeing that the parish churches were in proper hands. When Luther began his attack on indulgences, many of the German bishoprics were occupied by sons of princely houses, and no attempt had been made from Rome to introduce a more popular element in the German episcopate.

In regard to the lower clergy, Professor Pastor presents hardly a more favourable picture. It had come to be the fashion for parents to thrust into the clerical profession children who could show no particular signs of ability for any other kind of life. Many of the parochial clergy were without theological training, and had no qualifications for the ministry. Nothing was done by Roman authorities to ameliorate this distressing

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situation; in fact the intervention of the Curia tended to make lower standards permanent and to bestow upon unworthy Church officials the material advantages so eagerly sought after. In monastic life the chief thing to notice was the large number of religious houses. There had been several attempts at monastic reform, but Pastor thinks that the possession of great material resources had as bad an effect on the German monasteries as it had upon the German episcopate. The wealthy monasteries were in the hands of the aristocracy, and the secular spirit had proved demoralizing.

Feeling against the Church took something more than a local direction, and became concentrated on the control of the Church from Rome.

Nationalism became the rallying cry of all whose attacks were inspired by local abuses in the German Church. It was assumed that if things went wrong in Germany the ultimate responsibility must be traced to the Roman Curia. Yet in spite of general discontent Professor Pastor finds no evidence among the peoples of German stock of a desire to separate themselves from Roman jurisdiction. They were dissatisfied with the financial or legal or administrative aspects of the old international organization of Church government, but there was little desire for anything resembling doctrinal changes.

At the close of the fifteenth century Germany, as Professor Pastor sees it, was in a position that needed reform of its religious institutional life. There was vitality in the Church, but there were enough abuses to make a protest both natural and successful. All that was needed was the right man and the opportunity to bring about an explosion. When the climax came over a financial question this was no mere accident, for nothing caused more indignation in Germany than the financial exactions of the Curia and the abuses connected with them.

There is a certain allusiveness in Pastor's argument,

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not expressly stated however, that brings Luther into close relationship with the debasing elements of German national life; in other words, Professor Pastor would lead us to believe that Luther's movement succeeded chiefly because it gave an outlet for those whose ethical standards were below the standards of Christian morality and who therefore found in Luther's movement an opportunity for a more complete kind of emancipation from discipline than could be secured even under the very lax administration of the old Church system. Such a conclusion cannot be accepted. All the people of good will were not found among the antagonists of Luther; yet Professor Pastor can hardly be blamed for his attempt to apply to his own side the stock argument appealed to for so many generations by Protestants, that during the Reformation period all the people of good will became zealous supporters of the religious revolt. Professor Pastor's picture of the religious condition of Germany in the early days of the sixteenth century gives valuable details for a constructive estimate of Luther's work, but it fails to supply us with a satisfactory estimate of Luther's character and genius.

Many critics see in Luther only a survival of the Middle Ages, others regard him as a dominating figure in the whole of modern history. He really belongs to a transition epoch. New forces were coming into being, all reflected in his nature in an instinctive form, which he himself failed to analyze or develop. Luther cannot be treated merely as a child of his own period. In his character there was much more than a receptive medium, he had the creative power of genius, and his genius is especially hard to analyze because it presents itself in such various shapes, i. e., in forms not reduced by training or modified by self-discipline or by continuous systematic expression. It is difficult to classify Luther's achievements or to determine exactly the rôle to be assigned to him in the subsequent religious development of Western

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Europe. Leopold von Ranke's appreciation of Luther seems to come nearer to a finality of judgment than can be attained by the minuter critics who fail to regard the complicated currents of public life in which he lived and worked, by means of which he displayed his manifold talents as a popular leader. Summing up the indulgence controversy Ranke says, speaking of Luther's conflict with the papacy: "The chief thing with him was the influence of his own spiritual experience. There were united in him the following remarkable characteristics—the hard-headedness of the Thuringian peasant, the profundity of the German mystic, the capacity of the great professor, an incomparable resolution and a shrewdness of which perhaps in Germany there were no later examples. This insignificant monk, professor in the smallest university of the world, the subject of one of the most insignificant princes in Germany, dared under the protection of his prince, to set himself against both the Emperor and the Pope."

This passage probably gives one a clue to establish the position that belongs to Luther. He should be set apart from contemporaneous religious discussion. He lived peculiarly for his own age and did manful work in that age. But nothing can be more harmful today for religious progress than to assume that the religious problems which Luther had to confront still exist in the form in which he had to confront them. To think that he gave even a final or directive form to the religious experiences of the individual or of society would be as serious a mistake as to suppose that in the modern world the battle once fought by Oliver Cromwell against the Stuart monarchy must be repeated in every age. Luther belongs in the same category with Oliver Cromwell as a personal example of genius devoted to particular and immediate ends. Luther smashed beyond recall the international Church system, which had been built up in Europe after the failure of the General Councils of the fifteenth century. It

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was a peculiar type of internationalism, an organized system that depended upon shrewd political manipulation to continue its existence among the growing national monarchies of Western Europe. Oliver Cromwell stopped effectively and finally the upbuilding of monarchical absolutism in England. In both cases the fight was a fight to the finish, there was no compromise, not because we today think no compromise was possible, but because neither Martin Luther nor Oliver Cromwell were constructive in such a way as to regard compromise as desirable or thinkable. Both of these men carried their followers with them because of their supreme driving power. Personal genius gave this driving power its energy and its direction. Both men displayed a leadership which went far beyond contemporary circles of disciples and admirers. English political life was never the same after Cromwell's day, and the religious life of Western Europe has never been the same since Luther's time. But the lesson from Cromwell cannot be avoided in the case of Luther. Modern political life would have shrivelled if the constitutional schemes of Cromwell were forever to be maintained in authority and in force. It is just as true that to give a permanent application to the methods of Luther's revolt from the Renaissance papacy would be to impose upon Christianity an artificial and repressive burden.

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Pope Benedict XV and the Restoration of Unity

BY MGR. BATIFFOL, LITT.D.

The article which THE CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY¹ accepted from my pen on the subject of *Augustine's Vision of Unity*, showing the impassioned appeal to unity which shines so perseveringly in the controversy of Augustine with the Donatists, perhaps made clear to some readers the attitude still maintained by the Roman Catholic Church today; for it is as much concerned with unity as was Augustine, and as convinced as he was that this unity is visible and organic, a unity of divine right.

This is the position of us Roman Catholics; we hold this view conscientiously; we do so historically and dogmatically; I mean to say, our conception of unity is traditional; it is an article of our faith. However,—we should be grieved if from the outside our conception of unity should be understood as a sort of haughty birth-right, which would render us insensible to everything but this claim. There are in the Roman Catholic Church organizations admirable on account of their zeal and

¹See March, 1917.

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their extension, organizations universal in their scope, which aid in the propagation of the faith, and whose programme is this very thing. It should not be thought that none of us are interested in furthering Church unity, or that we remain indifferent to the appeals and advances which are made in this regard in America. No, we are not indifferent to them. The Augustinian vision of unity has not vanished from our horizon.

There are periods when our Church seems to be rather occupied in upholding its integrity, in strengthening its internal unity, and this was the character of the government of Pope Pius X, who was intent on combating the disintegrating work of modernists. There are periods again when, this unity being assured, optimism has freer range, and with optimism far off expectations. This was the nature of the action of Pope Leo XIII, that great optimist, that "grand old man" of long perspective and vast hopes. Everything seems to show that Pope Benedict XV follows the tradition of Leo XIII.

Called to the Holy See in the midst of war, with eyes fixed on Europe bleeding and wasted, with hands stretched out to assuage such misery as he is able to reach, invoking peace by his vows and prayers, suggesting it to princes and peoples with a moderation which seems like a paradox, still undiscouraged and always faithful to the maxim *Beati mites*, and to the spirit which is so little that of the times but which is the spirit of the Good Shepherd, yet Benedict XV governs the Roman Church. He shows in his rule the same conciliatory, prudent spirit, proceeding by measures of detail and practical minor ameliorations, of which at last the constant purpose becomes clear. Benedict XV has published no such encyclicals as Leo XIII loved; those doctrinal publications, so well suited to a genius absorbed in general ideas as was Leo XIII, have no attraction for Benedict XV, the Genoan patrician. He follows his own line with infinite discretion, more disposed to impersonal and silent decisions.

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How instructive would be a study of the *Jus canonicum* published in 1917, so rich in decisions of this kind, corrections often infinitesimal, but which reveal the same persevering spirit! If Providence had given to this peace-loving Pontiff some years of peace, the Church might have recovered the power of sympathy and expansion that it owed to Leo XIII. When peace returns we shall have to thank Benedict for maintaining the fire beneath the ashes. Some lambent flames here and there seem to show that this fire is not extinguished.

At the end of last December the capture of Jerusalem by the troops under General Allenby moved Christendom in a magnificent way, even in Austria-Hungary the Church bells almost rang spontaneously. For Benedict XV it must have been a keen source of regret that he was, by virtue of his formal neutrality, obliged to keep silence at an event which the great Popes of the time of the Crusades had invoked with such eloquent prayers. Condemned to say nothing, the Pope did not wish that Rome should hold its peace; he desired that a religious rite should be celebrated in the basilica of the Santa Croce in Jerusalem, and that the Cardinal Vicar who performs the duties of Bishop of Rome in the name of the Pope should assemble the faithful there by a public letter, which, thank God, found echoes on all sides.

The Cardinal Vicar (Cardinal Pompili) was not content with a brief announcement of the ceremony, he was at pains to express the feeling of joy experienced in Rome; unquestionably this was done with the approval of the Sovereign Pontiff, and certainly it was in terms not only opportune and eloquent, but of great import. He said: "Our joy, our happiness, a purely religious one, has still in it a cloud—that the new emancipators of the Holy Sepulchre do not all bear in their hearts, as the valiant Crusaders of pious Godfrey, the holy unity of the faith willed by Christ. Yet all of them

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bear aloft the seal of the Christian Name. The further we are removed from the centuries which valued the marvellous unity of the Church, so much the more do all who realize without difference the significance of His Name long for the same Catholic and universal unity. Now that the Holy Sepulchre has again come into the hands of Christians, all believers realize that there is one Redeemer, and therefore one Faith, one Baptism, one invisible Head of all of us, Jesus Christ, and one visible Head for us all, His Vicar on earth."

The joy of Cardinal Pompili is tempered by regret that the army of General Allenby is not Catholic as was that of Godfrey of Bouillon, but at any rate he can rejoice that it is still a Christian army by name and by baptism, and this is no unimportant concession in a document which had its source so near the Holy Apostolic See. But what would seem more important is the assertion that in the depths of all the consciences of those who, however indistinctly, deem it an honour to bear the name of Christian, a longing for Christian unity makes itself felt more keenly than before.

Since, therefore, the tomb of Christ returns to the hands of Christians, may it remind all believers of the ground for unity: One Saviour, one Faith, one Baptism, one Church, One Invisible Head, one visible Head, who on earth assures the mystic and organic unity of the One Church. Rome could not keep silence as to the conditions without which unity would in her eyes be an illusory union. Rome has never consented to declarations that might compromise doctrine. She has even brought to bear on these matters a ruggedness which does honour to her frankness. But the desire for a return to unity is a sentiment—"the desire for this same universal catholic unity"; and this sentiment Rome finds at the basis of her conscience, and she rejoices to discover that it is similarly "at the foundation of the convictions of all without distinction who glory in the name of 'Christian.' "

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Without being certain, I am inclined to believe that the sympathy expressed here by Cardinal Pompili was directly inspired by Benedict XV. It is an elementary rule of criticism that two independent documents expressing the same thought may perhaps have one common source. Now, independent of the letter of the Cardinal Vicar to the faithful in Rome on the occasion of the capture of Jerusalem, are letters (December 18, 1914 and April 7, 1918) addressed by the Cardinal Secretary of State to Mr. R. Gardiner on the subject of the plans for the World Conference, letters which have been sufficiently noticed in America as well as in France for me simply to mention them, but of which it may be well to add that they express more fully the views contained in the letter of Cardinal Pompili. We may say that we have here the mind of the Pontificate, and that this mind reveals to us its deep sympathy for souls in quest of unity.

It is not unimportant to note that the thought of the Holy See has been well understood in Italy. To show this we may mention an article which was published by *la Scuola Catholica* of Milan (January 1918) entitled *Towards the Unity of the Church, its Tendencies, Desires, and Hopes*. We quote some of its opening lines: "Since there came from the divine lips of the Saviour His majestic programme that all those who believe in Him 'may be one,' this expression must be taken with other words of His which, presenting His prophetic vision, include also an exclamation of sorrow: 'Other sheep I have, that are not of this fold: them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice; and there shall be one fold, and one shepherd.' Since this time the Church of Christ has sanctioned unity as its essential trust; and the obligation of holding to this ideal was imposed upon it, because in the unity so declared there were actually incorporated all those who in any way preserve the faith in His divine mission but who have separated

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themselves with fatal results, as branches torn from the long enduring plant whose root is the Divine Master."

Continuing, the author of the article speaks with favour of the plans for a World Conference, while declaring a little hastily that grave difficulties would hinder members of the Roman Catholic Church from participation. He adds: "Still we are bound to consider with kind feeling the longing for union with which the promoters of the Congress are animated. F. A. Blanche, Professor at the Catholic Institute of Paris, remarks: 'It may even happen that an examination of doctrines may result differently from that which is expected, and a comparison of them may show to them the truth already totally present in one Church which must be recognized as the true and sole Church of Christ. The docility with which the promoters of union declare themselves to be impelled under the influence of the Holy Spirit allows us to encourage every hope in this direction.'"²

These considerations, in spite of the reserves that they express, witness to a good-will, generous, sincere, and free from all diplomacy. A comparison with an article given by the *Civiltà Cattolica* (December 1, 1917), entitled *The Work of Religious Unity*, may be interesting. The Jesuit review in Rome speaks of the "desire, natural to all Christian hearts, to see at last all occasion for discord removed and the unity of the Church restored." And it adds: "Of this we have a proof in the most magnanimous proposal adopted by the most eminent group in the American Episcopal Church, to study, that is, to encourage the study, *with sincerity and Christian charity, of the problems relating to the faith and constitution of the Church of Jesus Christ, and to the re-establishment of religious unity in the Christian world.*"

The words in italics are taken from the American pamphlet entitled *On Church Unity*. The Roman review

² *Revue des Jeunes*, June 10, 1917.

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does not say that Roman Catholics should be forbidden to appear at the World Conference; it expresses the opinion that it does not expect appreciable results from a Congress of all the Churches, if it is a question of a return of separated Churches collectively to unity, for this very good reason that ancient secessions are aggravated today by nationalistic passions, by inveterate prejudices, by political difficulties, by personal interests, which harden the heart and could only be overcome by "a heroism of abnegation and study." The *Civiltà Cattolica* counts rather on the *élite*. And it thinks worthy of praise "the effort of those who are sincerely working for the cause of religious unity, as the American Episcopalians show they are doing."³

To discover the thought of the present Pontificate we have something better than the Cardinals' letters quoted above, or their echoes in reviews in Rome or Milan; we have a constitutional document of the Pontiff himself.

We refer to the *Motu proprio* of Benedict XV dated the 1st of May, 1917, by which the Pope separated from the Congregation *di Propaganda fide* the department dealing with affairs connected with Oriental Rite which had been created by Pius IX in 1862. The *Motu proprio* of Benedict XV institutes this department as a separate Congregation, designating it "Congregation for the Eastern Church," and it provides that this Congregation "reserve to itself all affairs, of whatever nature they may be, connected either with the persons, the discipline, or rite of Eastern Churches." These are the terms used in the *Motu proprio* itself. It adds: "In connection with Churches of Greek rite, this Congregation will be provided with all the powers which other Congregations enjoy with regard to the Churches of

³ See also in the *Civiltà Cattolica*, January 19, 1918, the article entitled: *The Prayers of the Church and a General Christian Congress for Union*.

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Latin rite, always with reservation of the rights of the Congregation of the Holy Office."

These, the chief provisions of the *Motu proprio*, naturally do not apply to the Churches of Greek rite which are in union with the Roman Church and the Apostolic See, otherwise called Uniat Churches. The aim of these provisions is to demonstrate to the Churches of the East the high regard the Holy See has for them. Henceforth these Churches will no longer be considered as "mission fields" under the jurisdiction of the Congregation *de Propaganda fide*; as established, hierarchical Churches, with a normal, complete life, they are treated with the same respect, and placed on the same footing, as the Churches of Latin rite. They are no longer regarded as mere fortuitous Churches.

The preamble to the *Motu proprio* is more interesting than the administrative provisions. My readers will, I hope, allow me to cite it freely. Firstly, Benedict XV calls to mind how, since he occupies the place of St. Peter by the secret design of Divine Providence, he feels obliged, by reason of his Apostolic office, to increase his efforts to procure the preservation and the progress of all the Churches, the collective body of which constitutes the mystical Body of Christ, that is to say, the Catholic Church. I only mention this introduction to show how thoroughly the Apostolic See follows its tradition in thinking of *all the Churches*, for the Popes have said the same since the time of St. Clement! Not to recognize in this passage an enduring characteristic of the Papacy would be to ignore twenty centuries of ecclesiastical history. And what a different course things would have taken if through the centuries *all the Churches* had likewise thought of *all the Churches*.

Showing sincere regard for the Eastern Churches, Benedict XV continues: "We embrace in Our fatherly love all the individual Churches, but the Churches of the East in a special way; their greater age shows such a brilliant light of holiness and doctrine that today,

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after so much time has passed, We see it shining on the rest of the Christian world. In truth it is impossible for Us not to feel distressed when We consider to what a degree—so flourishing and extended were they—they have become small and weak since a chain of endless and lamentable causes tore from the arms of the Mother Church the greater part of the Churches of the East. May Our dearly loved sons of the East by the goodness of God one day be restored to possession of their pristine prosperity and their early glory! As for Ourselves, looking forward, and mindful of the task incumbent on Us, We purpose to apply Ourselves with ardour to the work of relieving, as much as is in Our power, the impoverished state of the Churches of the East.”

It may be doubted whether the Churches of the East which are separated from Rome consider themselves as small and weak as they appear to the Pope. Benedict XV here certainly speaks more as an Apostle than as a diplomat. Perhaps he also speaks too briefly. For to our eyes the weakness of these severed Churches lies chiefly in the fact of their separation, in their isolation, in their hostility regarding the “great Church.” Their weakness is above all spiritual, and perhaps this weakness is the one they will be most easily led to recognize. The separation is a misfortune so incontestable, a fact so evidently contrary to the purpose of Christ and the lessons of history! On the other hand the Churches cut off from the visible and organic unity of the *Catholica* do not believe themselves on that account to be outside the great Church; they even maintain that they alone constitute the only legitimate Church, and are almost ready to declare that we Roman Catholics are excluded by the heresies which they ascribe to us! Pope Benedict XV could not deal with all these views. He does not publish an encyclical letter (we have the splendid encyclical of Leo XIII, *Satis cognitum*, which suffices), he simply indicates his attitude. The important point is that this action, which is one of respect and love, is

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addressed to the separated Churches—a meritorious action seeing that these separated Churches have not shown similar respect or love for Roman Catholicism and the Apostolic See.

Benedict XV goes on to explain the purpose which led him to make the Congregation dealing with matters connected with the Greek rite an independent body. The subordinate position before assigned to this Congregation gave to certain prejudiced minds a pretext “for attributing to the Roman Pontiffs a lack of esteem for Eastern Catholics (united with Rome), and a design to subordinate these to the Latins.” Benedict XV protests against these complaints, the futility of which he denounces. The new Congregation will have the Pope himself as its presiding officer. We know that Congregations of very special importance have His Holiness as *Prefetto*; this is the case with the Holy Office and with the Consistory, which are the two most considerable Congregations of the Roman Court. The Congregation which will watch over the Uniat Churches will, therefore, have the Pope at its head. This enables Benedict XV to write: “When our Churches of the East shall see the supreme Pontiff watching in person over their interests, they will without fail understand that it is impossible for the Holy See to give any greater sign of affection for them. Moreover, we may hope that the Latins will not again be represented to Christians of the East as objects of suspicion, for the present act will make it still clearer that the Church of Jesus Christ, because it is neither Latin, Greek, nor Slavonic, but Catholic, makes no distinction between its sons, and that all these, be they Greek, Latin, Slavonic, or of other national groups, occupy the same place before this Apostolic See.”

The Apostolic See does not wish Christians in the East to consider it a Latin Body. The Church of Christ is neither Latin, Greek, nor Slavonic—which recalls a saying of St. Paul magnificent in its universality. The stone

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on which it is founded ought to be as catholic as the *Catholica*. To be Roman is a contingency which does not necessarily latinize it. It repudiates all that would limit it to one nation, to one language, to one race.

Our Uniat Churches of the Greek rite, with their six patriarchates, their twenty-two archbishoprics, their forty-nine bishoprics, their six apostolic vicariates (I give the statistics of the *Annuario pontificio* of 1918), are but a very small part of Christendom. As to Asia, the Armenians, the Melchites, the Maronites, the Syrians, the Chaldeans, who are united with Rome, do not number 700,000 souls, if I may accept the statistics of Kattenbusch. In Europe the Ruthenians alone form an important group with a possible future. The Holy See, however, takes a persistent interest in these Uniat Churches, over which it has exercised an affectionate guardianship. In spite of the disappointments that its wards have so often caused it, the Holy See has been inclined to regard these groups of Roman Catholics of Greek rite as out-posts serving to maintain some contact between Rome and the separated East. The same point of view moves Benedict XV to take upon himself the presidency in the regulation of their affairs at the Court of Rome.

I repeat this is an attitude which perhaps marks no great change either in the Curia or in the East, but which, however, reveals that Pope Benedict XV is attentive to our Catholic out-posts in the East, makes known to them his confidence, his solicitude, proclaims his thoughtful care not to latinize them, and hopes that through them and beyond them his policy of charity may perhaps be known to an Orient more extensive but so hostile to the Apostolic See, from which it is separated.

Another act of Benedict XV relates to the same eirenic policy. The Pope expresses himself in these terms in a *Motu proprio* dated October 15, 1917, devoting this second document to the same purpose as the first, namely, to awaken the Catholic East to the hope of its ancient

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prosperity. He says: "Therefore We have decided to found in this the first city in Christendom an institute for the advanced study of questions connected with the Orient, to furnish it with all the means essential to learning, and to assure it in every subject competent professors, specially versed in questions relating to the Orient. First, it will be given an organization such as will in every respect render it suitable for Latin priests who desire to exercise the holy ministry in the Orient. Further, this college will also be open to men from the East, to so-called 'Orthodox' as much as to Uniat Catholics, to the latter that they may complete the ordinary course of sacred studies by this special study, and to the former to enable them to penetrate to the root of the truth, all prejudice set aside. We desire that the exposition of Catholic and Orthodox doctrines be carried on side by side, that each student may recognize for himself the sources from which they are derived, whether from the preaching of the Apostles which has been transmitted to us by the imperishable teaching of the Church, or from some other source."

The College which Benedict XV has resolved to bestow on Rome will be a school of training for Latin Catholics who feel themselves called to exercise the holy ministry in the East, and who should, therefore, adopt the Greek rite and Eastern culture. This transformation from Latin to Eastern is in fact not without precedent; among Ruthenian Roman Catholics there will be found more than one Pole who has adopted the Greek-Ruthenian rite, this being the case with the Ruthenian Roman Catholic Archbishop of Lemberg, Mgr. de Szeptycki, a Pole by birth, who became a monk of the order of St. Basil.

The College will further warmly welcome members of the Uniat Greek Churches who may come to Rome to complete their theological studies. Benedict XV wishes also that the College be open equally to members of the non-Uniat Greek Churches who may desire to come to Rome to study controversial matters.

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It is true that Catholic schools of advanced learning already existed in the East, founded for the most part by French religious orders. Our French Jesuits had a university at Beyrout which gathered its clientage from the Syrian and Maronite population, without exclusion of non-Catholics. Its light shone brilliantly. Jerusalem had the Seminary of St. Anne for the training of the Uniat clergy of the East, presided over by our French White Fathers. The Bible School in Jerusalem founded by Père Lagrange, in which Biblical science and oriental philology were taught by the French Dominicans, filled a similar rôle. At Constantinople the French Fathers of the Assumption constituted a sort of permanent scientific mission dedicated to the study of ecclesiastical history and Eastern and Byzantine theology, whose organ was the much appreciated review, the *Echos d'Orient*. Rome itself had an excellent journal devoted to studies of the same type entitled *Bessarione*. Ancient Roman institutions—such as the Greek College founded in 1577 and reorganized in 1897 (under Leo XIII), and more recently, the Ruthenian College founded in 1897, and the Maronite College restored in 1891, not to mention the *Collegio Urbano* of the *Propaganda fide*, founded in 1627, in which have been taught continuously Arabic, Greek, Syriac, and Armenian,—were all anticipations of that of Benedict XV.

The Pope intends that the special institute which he has founded shall be a college of advanced learning provided with modern equipment. The courses he proposes include: *a.* Orthodox theology, to embrace the various doctrines of Christian Churches in the East pertaining to fundamentals of the faith, with Eastern patrology, historic theology and patristics. *b.* The canon law of all the Christian nations of the East. *c.* The various liturgies of the Churches of the East. *d.* The history, religious as well as secular, of Byzantium and the rest of the East. He will add to this courses on ethnographical geography, on sacred archeology, on

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the civil and political constitutions of the nations concerned. *e.* Oriental literature.

A programme is to be sure only a project. It will be necessary to see this institute in operation,—it is not yet open—in order to judge of its capacity to fulfil its purpose. The mere programme, however, is interesting, for it reveals to us the intellectual side of the policy of Benedict XV. He believes in the value of study and culture; he knows the worth of history, secular as well as religious, of ethnographical geography, of the literature of the Orient. He desires that the canon law of all the Christian nations of the East shall be studied (this is a point specially to be noticed), and also their many liturgies. He mentions “historical theology.” He wishes Orthodox theology (that is to say, the theology of the separated Churches) to be studied as well. In a word, and this goes vastly beyond the horizon of single Uniat groups, Benedict XV intends that Rome shall be no stranger to anything concerning the Orient—its languages, canons, liturgies, theological doctrines. This programme might style itself: The Entente that Rome Desires with the Separated East.

We are assured that this programme was prepared by a number of advisers chosen from among those who know the Orient best, the Orient properly so-called, and the Slavonic Orient, and we understand that the suggestions of these counsellors form a volume.⁴ I have not been able to consult the book. This collection should be the commentary on the *Motu proprio* of Benedict XV and would doubtless show how those about the Pope vie with each other in their desire to understand the East and to stretch forth a hand to it.

The *Civiltà Cattolica* (December 1, 1917), when it introduced these two documents of the Pope to its readers, recognized perfectly that they were not aimed

⁴ *Opiniuncula et vota quoad pontificiam in Urbe pro Ecclesiarum orientalium dissidentium concordia institutionem*, Rome, 1916.

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at the Uniat Churches alone, but that they tended to encourage a *rapprochement* of the separated Churches to the Apostolic See. This *rapprochement*, which is the great aim, will certainly be facilitated by the fact that the separated Churches will know that in Rome itself there are those who take an interest in their history, their theology, their law, their liturgy, and that sympathy as well as objectivity is brought to bear on their study. An old French phrase speaks of certain people under discussion as "improving on acquaintance": we do not doubt that the separated Churches will "improve on acquaintance." Why should not an institute such as that created by Benedict XV sometimes invite "Orthodox" theologians for a hearing? They complain that our theologians do not know them; they should come like St. Paul on the Areopagus to make themselves known.

This, however, would be without value except on condition of a just and desirable reciprocity, the separated Churches showing a desire to understand Roman Catholicism, to study its past history, its doctrines, its profound life. There is in the separated Churches a lack of comprehension of Roman Catholicism which would be amazing but for a knowledge of the factors of separation, and the psychological conditions which perpetuate it. We must aim at revealing the West to the East, at the abolition of those fables and aversions which centuries of hostility have heaped up and inflamed. We are not at the point at which direct relations can be renewed, but are at a preparatory stage in which we can study each other at a distance with sincere respect for one another. Who would not find it necessary, with such inveterate dissensions, to rectify some of the positions taken? Such rectifications are not easy in the heat of controversy. Therefore study will prove of greater value when undertaken by each for himself in the seclusion of institutes of advanced learning.

When in the hospitable pages of **THE CONSTRUCTIVE**

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QUARTERLY men of deep and extended learning like Professor Bréhier and Canon Vacandard lately published their retrospective studies of the schism of Byzantium, these formed a prelude to the work the programme of which Benedict XV has since traced. We can but wish that historians belonging to the Russian Church would show themselves with us in the "No Man's Land" of THE CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY. We always wish it. But after the documents published by Benedict XV, what an opportunity it would afford, if in Moscow, which is the centre of theological study and will henceforth be the heart and head of the liberated Russian Church, an institute were to be founded for the study of Roman Catholicism, an institute similar to that which Benedict XV will open in Rome for the study of Christianity in the East!

I am writing these lines in Paris (March 23-25, 1918) with what little freedom of mind the anxieties of the hour in which we live leave me. This Palm Sunday, in the Cathedral of Notre Dame, we have celebrated the *benedictio palmarum*, and sung the gospel of the Passion as recorded by St. Matthew, while shells from an enemy cannon with a range of more than a hundred kilometers are falling in the city. We can but smile at such a record! And what is this compared to the ruins which cover Belgium, a part of France, Poland and parts of Russia? God is accomplishing His work in the midst of these trials of this old world, which are perhaps the road for the drawing together into one and the same Church those whose hearts have been drawn together by the same trials. God alone can be the effective Worker of union of mind and heart.

Recourse to God has been recommended by all those who, in these latter days, have worked for a *rapprochement* with the separated Churches; but no one has recommended it in more elevated and moving terms than Benedict XV.

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On April 15, 1916, the Pope published in the *Acta apostolicae sedis* the text of a prayer written by himself, which I wish to quote because it will form the best conclusion to this article, but also because it reveals to us once again the intimate policy of Benedict XV.

Preghiera per l'unione dei Cristiani d'Oriente alla Chiesa Romana.

O Signore, che avete unito le diverse nazioni nella confessione di Vostro Nome, Vi preghiamo per i popoli Cristiani dell' Oriente. Memori del posto eminente che hanno tenuto nella Vostra Chiesa, Vi supplichiamo d'ispirar loro il desiderio di reprimerlo, per formare con noi un solo ovile sotto la guida di un medesimo Pastore. Fate che essi insieme con noi si compenetrino degl' insegnamenti dei loro santi Dottori, che sono anche nostri Padri nella Fede. Preservateci da ogni fallo che potrebbe allontanarli da noi. Che lo spirito di concordi e di carità, che è indizio della vostra presenza tra i fedeli, affretti il giorno in cui le nostre si uniscano alle loro preghiere affinché ogni popolo ed ogni lingua riconosca e glorifichi il nostro Signore Gesù Cristo, Vostro Figlio. Così sia.

O Lord, Who hast united divers nations in the confession of Thy Name, we pray Thee for the Christian peoples of the East. Mindful of the eminent place they have held in Thy church, we beseech Thee to inspire them to take once more their former place, to form with us one fold, under the guidance of one Shepherd. Inspire them, along with us, with the teaching of the same holy Doctors, who are also our Fathers in the Faith. Preserve us from every fault which may alienate them from us. May the spirit of concord and charity, which is the witness of Thy presence among Thy faithful people, hasten the day in which our own people may unite themselves with their prayers, so that every people and every tongue may recognize and glorify our Saviour Jesus Christ, Thy Son. Amen.

Acton and Gladstone¹

“WHOSE SERVICE IS PERFECT FREEDOM.”

BY MARY DREW,

*To Whom were Addressed “Acton’s Letters to Mary,
Daughter of Gladstone.”*

“All I write, and all I think, and all I hope, is based on the Divinity of Our Lord—the one central hope of our poor wayward race.”

This was the impregnable rock upon which Mr. Gladstone’s life was founded, and if we look through the letters and writings of Lord Acton, we shall find the same note sounded throughout. It was of little moment to which branch of the Holy Catholic Church—the Anglo-Catholic or the Roman Catholic—the two men belonged. That which divided them was small indeed compared with that which united them. Both were Catholic in the deepest and widest sense of the term, both were conscious and proud of their membership in the Apostolic and Universal Church—“Patriot citizens of the Kingdom of God”—their zeal for the Church transcended patriotism, it is seen throughout their lives and deeds. Both were staunch believers in religious liberty, and both were possessed of a deep longing for the reunion of Christendom. In all the essentials of our faith they were in sympathy; in fundamentals they were identical. Both were profound believers in the truth of Christianity; both drew their inspiration from the same deep sources.

¹I am greatly indebted to those who have studied the life of Lord Acton, Dr. J. Neville Figgis, Mr. Herbert Paul, Mr. G. P. Gooch, Lady Blennerhassett and Mr. L. March Phillipps, and to Lord Morley’s *Life of Gladstone*.

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No two men of their day were more deeply learned in all that touched their faith, and few could have approached their mental and moral stature. No two men more earnestly and ardently practised the truth by which they lived, or more splendidly bore witness by their unostentatious, noble and consistent lives, to the faith that was within them.

The relations between the two men strengthened with intercourse and time. It was Matthew Arnold who said, "Gladstone influences all around him but Acton. It is Acton who influences Gladstone." In truth they acted and re-acted on one another. Both were ever conscious of those things of the Spirit which at once purify and ennoble human nature. In Mr. Gladstone Lord Acton saw fulfilled the idea that politics are an affair of morality, that they teach eternal interests as much as vices and virtues in private life.

Politics to Lord Acton were nearer to religion, party was more like a Church, error more like heresy, prejudice like sin, than is to be found with other men. To a friend he once described Mr. Gladstone as one who treated politics as the art of doing, on the largest scale, what is right. At that time, 1881, he spoke of the peace with the Boers as the noblest work of the Ministry. He rejoiced over this "victory with heartier joy and a purer pride than I have been able to feel at any public event since I broke my heart over the surrender of Lee."

What gave the act, in his eyes, its deep moral significance was the unflinching courage which inspired the British Government to complete the negotiations—which had been started before the Majuba disaster—in the teeth of that defeat. It is easy enough to be magnanimous to a fallen foe, but to be magnanimous to him at the moment of victory, is a pinnacle of morality so lofty as to be seldom attained. In truth, in some cases, defeat is a greater triumph than victory.

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Possibly the most notable occasions on which Mr. Gladstone stood in the House of Commons pouring out the passion of his soul on behalf of liberty—to be defeated at the moment, to triumph in the end—would be his great speech on the Franchise in April 1866, his speech on the Eastern Question, May 1877, and his speech on Home Rule for Ireland in April 1886.

Each had great qualities of character and intellect which specially appealed to the other, both gathered vast knowledge from their studies, Lord Acton especially, of all alive or dead who really count in this world. Both were born students, learners to the end of their lives. In the very last conversation with his son, Lord Acton solemnly adjured him not to judge so severely as he had done, but “to make allowance for human weakness.” By this last admonition he showed that he, who dedicated his life to the pursuit of truth, was learning to the very last. In three things they believed with all their strength, in liberty, truth and the moral law. Lord Acton would not allow the least qualification in the supremacy of any one of them. He was unflinching in his condemnation of anything that infringed on the truth—he staked his all on the whole, undiluted and absolute truth. To them both, religion was the most supreme of interests. It was the habit of their minds. It was the guiding star of their lives.

Attraction to each other must have been enhanced by contrast in life occupations. The effect of intercourse, as might be expected—the one mainly a man of action, the other mainly a man of ideas—must have been calming to the one and stimulating to the other. To both men the past was a thing of profound significance, for they had an abiding reverence for all that was ancient and ordered, though no men could have listened more carefully to the Spirit of the Age. They united a profound reverence for the past with an intense faith in the future. In spite of everything, they believed in evolution and

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progress: "We have no thread through the enormous intricacy of politics, except the idea of progress towards more perfect freedom and the divine right of free men." "Liberty is the sign and the motive and the prize in the upward and onward advance of the race."

They both nourished a deep affection and admiration for Dr. Döllinger, that "Glory of Catholic learning," as Lord Bryce calls him. Acton was but a boy of eleven when Mr. Gladstone, at the age of thirty-five, paid his first visit to the great master. During the two or three days he was at Munich their conversation must have lasted many hours. I believe it was on this occasion that, after supper, they sat talking far into the night. So engrossed were they with the supreme interest of their talk, that the small hours of the morning passed unheeded, and it was not until the servant entered the room to let in the new day that the two separated.

Acton himself lived with Dr. Döllinger from 1848 to 1853, the laws of the English Universities being too strict to admit of any other than Church of England undergraduates. His descent, on the one side from the Acton who was Prime Minister in the Kingdom of Naples, during the Napoleon era, and from the great house of Dalberg on the other, brought him into a wide and highly interesting circle, and this was enhanced by his mother's marriage with Lord Granville. The best not only of British but of European society was at his command.

The first recorded letter he received from Mr. Gladstone was written in 1859. Mr. Gladstone had read the Acton treatise, written at the age of twenty-five, on John Stuart Mill. "I have read your remarkable and valuable paper," he wrote, "its principles and politics I embrace; its research and wealth of knowledge I admire; and its whole atmosphere is that which I desire to breathe." A striking testimony to so young a man from a statesman of fifty.

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In reading Lord Acton was a gourmet, Mr. Gladstone a gourmand, and the younger man often deplored the lack of selection in Mr. Gladstone's reading and the catholicity of his tastes. It would not be true to say that, like many others, Lord Acton was not sometimes perplexed by certain aspects of Mr. Gladstone's mind.

"In more than one of the later phases of his life," he wrote, "I fancy you hardly recognized the secret laws of the growth of his mind, and join him, sometimes by an effort, over a gap—anybody can be on his side who waits to be under the thrall of his speech. The difficulty is to hear the grass growing, to know the road by which he travels, the description of engine, the quality of the stuff he treats with, the stars he steers by."²

Both had a rare and discriminating sense of fitness, of proportion, of harmony, which kept them from wasting time and trouble on the things that do not matter. With Lord Acton what to refuse or neglect became a fine art. He studied facts, not so much as facts, as in their relation to principles; the thoughts and ideas of men were to him often more important than their deeds, and the range and exactness of his knowledge was as various as it was profound. To him history and philosophy were one. Though, compared to other students, his knowledge of history penetrated far back into the past, he mastered more particularly the whole field of history of recent times, especially in the Reformation and Renaissance periods, including older theology and modern Biblical research. In modern Biblical criticism Lord Acton would probably show more sympathy than Mr. Gladstone. To a boundless knowledge of books he added an unrivalled knowledge of men. His passion for knowledge, no doubt, checked his powers of production. His *History of Liberty*, it has been aptly said, "is the greatest book that never was written."³

² *Letters to Mary Gladstone*, Macmillan & Co.

³ L. March Phillipps.

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In 1880 the writer of this paper ventured to call his attention to *The Madonna of the Future*, a story recently written by Henry James—a story in which the artist dreamed, throughout his life, of the wonderful picture he was going to paint. After his death, when his studio is entered, a blank canvas stands upon the easel. From this time, Lord Acton used the title in his letters to me to describe his own work. Both Newman and Döllinger had prophesied that if he wrote no great book before he was forty, his vast erudition would paralyse his power of expression. Not one page of the actual History of Liberty was written. But in his lectures, reviews and letters priceless texts are to be found upon which whole treatises or books might be written on this greatest of subjects, and in the two lectures delivered at Bridgnorth in 1877, is to be found the kernel of his History of Liberty.⁴

The words Lord Acton wrote about Burke may well be applied to himself. "Systems of scientific thought have been built up by famous scholars on fragments that fell from his table. Great literary fortunes have been made by men who traded on the hundredth part of him. Brougham and Lowe lived by the vitality of his ideas. Mackintosh and Macaulay are only Burke trimmed and stripped of all that touched the skies."

Who can ever measure the effect of his life? That which he gave to the world in his character and example is greater than any written book. His life work was himself.

"That low man seeks a little thing to do,
Sees it and does it.
This high man with a great thing to pursue,
Dies ere he knows it.
That low man goes on adding one to one,
His hundred's soon hit.
This high man, aiming at a million,
Misses an unit."⁵

⁴See *History of Freedom*, Macmillan.

⁵*A Grammarian's Funeral*.

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One bit of personal experience may perhaps be related here. From Tegernsee, where we stayed in 1879, we went on to Venice. Here I had the inestimable privilege and delight of seeing Venice (for the first time) and its priceless treasures under Lord Acton's supreme guidance. I can never forget the intoxication of the first night in the Piazza of St. Mark, the music, the moonlight, the stir of the crowd, the unparalleled beauty of the buildings. But it is another evening that pre-eminently stands out in my memory, an evening spent with Lord Acton on the Piazzetta. It was a setting of unearthly beauty, the silver rays of the moon shining upon the water, and illuminating the classic lines of palaces and churches.

The conversation turned on liberty, and the floodgates were unloosed; with a passion and enthusiasm I have never heard equalled, Lord Acton poured forth his own History of Liberty—he let loose the long pent up treasures of his inmost soul. He spoke like a man inspired, as if, from some mountain summit high in air, he saw beneath him the far winding path of human progress from dim Cimmerian shores of pre-historic shadow, into the fuller, yet broken and fitful light of the modern time. The eloquence was splendid; yet greater than the eloquence was the penetrating vision which discerned through all events, and in all ages, the play of those moral forces, now creating, now destroying, always transmuting, which had moulded and re-moulded human institutions and had given to the human spirit its ceaselessly changing forms of energy. It was as if the whole landscape of history had been suddenly lit up by a burst of sunlight.

I cannot do better than quote these memorable words used by Lord Bryce, for our experience seems to have been almost identically the same as his, but for Lord Bryce it was for six or seven minutes only, with us (my brother Herbert and me) it must have been a whole hour or more.

All through the episode two figures tramped up and

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down the Piazzetta in front of us, the Crown Princess, afterwards Empress of Germany, and M. Renan. Often I have wondered whether, had they known what was happening, they would not have given the world to share in our thrilling experience.

Mr. Gladstone was once heard to remark that if all the wits of men were to be united in one brain, that man would be unable to appraise with perfect justice any single moral action. "The shades of the rainbow," he wrote, "are not so nice, the sands of the sea shore are not such a multitude, as are the subtle, shifting, blending forms of thought and of circumstances that go to determine the character of one act. But there is One that seeth plainly and judgeth righteously."

And Lord Acton was the same in recognizing the complexity and perplexity of moral problems. "So complex are they that almost every act can be honestly seen in different lights, and I can imagine so strong a case against our policy in Africa as to drive from his moorings any man not anchored in justice."

Both these men, while uncompromising in their condemnation of any offence against the moral law, would make every allowance for the offender. "Be true to your own beliefs and gracious towards those that dispute them."

With all the splendour of his gifts Mr. Gladstone was possessed by an over-mastering love of goodness. The conclusions summed up by Lord Morley in the chapter called "Characteristics"—possibly the masterpiece of his great Biography⁶—must rest on the bed-rock of the Diaries. These Diaries, forty small volumes of compressed handwriting, are concentrated evidence of his belief, habit, purpose, practice and performance: a stern uncompromising record of daily work, done or not done,—an unsparing, introspective analysis of motive and conduct. His thoughts, his time, his deeds, his soul are

⁶ *Morley's Life of Gladstone*, Macmillan.

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possessed by the inviolable obligation of moral duty. These Diaries, scrupulously kept throughout his life, reveal an abiding conviction of Divine guidance.

He must often have been the despair of his colleagues in a Cabinet Council, for he brought every question, every problem, to the touchstone of conscience. He strove to apply the noble moralities of his creed to the affairs of his own nation, and further, of the Commonwealth of Nations. Yet in watching and guiding public opinion, as Lord Morley observed, in feeling the pulse of the Cabinet or the House of Commons, in appealing to the heart or soothing the mind of a colleague, he always kept before him that in political life you must be prepared to *do what you can*, not what you want, and that as much wisdom is required in the choice of time and occasion as in the choice of subject. He fulfilled the counsel of Marcus Aurelius, "Be content with ever so small an advance and look even on that as a gain worth having."

It was "in the great and sinful streets of Naples as he passed" in the year '32, that Mr. Gladstone underwent an experience, almost a revelation, which might have recalled the light given to St. Paul on the road to Damascus. "One Sunday, May 13th," he wrote in his Diary, "something, I know not what, set me to examining the Occasional Offices of the Church in the Prayer Book. I had previously taken a great deal of teaching direct from the Bible, but now the figure of the Church rose before me as a teacher too, and I gradually found in how incomplete a manner I had drawn Divine Truth from the sacred volume. . . . Such, for I believe I have given the fact as it occurred in its silence and its solitude, was my first introduction to the august conception of the Church of Christ. It presented to me Christianity under an aspect in which I had not yet known it: its ministry of simplicity, its channels of grace, its unending line of teachers, joining from the Head: the sublime construction,

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based throughout upon historical fact, uplifting the idea of the community in which we live and of the access which it enjoys through the new and living Way, to the Presence of the Most High."

Up to that time Mr. Gladstone had been brought up in a deplorably narrow creed; it obliged him to believe that salvation depended absolutely on the literal acceptance of its tenets. "But," as he wrote to Mr. Martineau, December, 1862, "long, long have I cast those weeds behind me." His life had been fashioned on most austere lines, but from the moment of the revelation recorded above religion took on a different aspect. He realized the necessity of a system, a frame-work for anything that has to endure. From this time he looked upon doctrine or dogma as "the skeleton, the bones, that carried the flesh, the blood, the life of the blessed thing we call the Christian religion."

Lord Acton, referring to his own Church, wrote: "Our faith should stand not on the virtues of men, but on the surer ground of an institution and a guidance that are divine." Though he belonged to a Church, "whose communion to him was dearer than life," he would frankly confess that there were many opinions, "not only sanctioned, but enforced, by the authorities of the Church of Rome, to which none could adhere without peril to the soul."⁸

An ardent Catholic, he was also an ardent Liberal, who confessed to the necessity of removing everything in Catholicism incompatible with liberty, and everything in politics incompatible with Catholicism. In Mr. Gladstone he discerned a knight-errant of freedom. "Infractions of liberty were to him the primal offence in a statesman."⁹ Having known Mr. Gladstone from his youth upwards and from the inside, he realized the

⁸*Life of Gladstone*, Vol. II, p. 137.

⁹*Letters to Mary Gladstone*.

¹⁰*Lord Acton's Correspondence*, Longmans & Co.

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simplicity as well as the greatness of his character; he perceived that he had no object except "to learn what was true, and to do what was right." Lord Acton has been truly called "the most hypercritical of men, the precise opposite of a hero-worshipper, an iconoclast if ever there was one, who yet regarded Mr. Gladstone as the first of English statesmen, *living or dead*."

Lord Acton recognized in his hero the union of principle and policy. He knew the three sources from which Mr. Gladstone's character drew its inspiration, his three channels of grace—the Bible, the Church and the conscience. To Bishop Creighton Lord Acton once wrote: "Remember that nearly all great men are bad men." Such was his conviction of the deteriorating effects of power. "Power is poison."¹⁰ In Mr. Gladstone, in spite of the over-mastering temptations of almost limitless power, he witnessed the steadfastness and serenity of his soul. The close relations between the two men did infinite honour to them both—the strength of their affection never blinded their eyes. Freedom and frankness, clear as crystal, reigned between them; Lord Acton in no case shrank from criticizing Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Gladstone invited his criticism and welcomed even his antagonism as the sincerest proofs of his friendship.

In the three great departments of human thought, theological, historical and philosophical, in the literature that set them forth, they were closely allied; their common interest in the great masters, Plato and Aristotle, Dante and Thomas Aquinas, Butler and Burke, drew them together. In the libraries they collected, in the spirit in which they selected them, there was a striking, a characteristic sympathy—St. Deiniol's at Hawarden, and the Acton Library at Cambridge. The former consists of two large rooms with galleries, the one for Divinity, the other for Humanity, presented to the students of Great Britain for the promotion of Divine Learning.

¹⁰Fénelon.

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"Divine Learning," Mr. Gladstone wrote, "in order to reach the highest efficacy, has been and ought to be associated with the various branches of human knowledge, especially with History and Philosophy. The great question of belief is, in the main, the first concern of the human race."

"All understanding of history depends," wrote Lord Acton, "on one's understanding the forces that make it, and religious forces are the most active and the most definite. To develop and perfect and arm conscience is the great achievement of history, the chief business of every life—and the first agent therein is religion."

Let me take a few nuggets from Lord Acton's and Mr. Gladstone's writings or speeches and one or two of their favourite texts!

The first lesson of history is that liberty depends on the division of power.

The danger is not that a particular class is unfit to govern—every class is unfit to govern.

True liberty depends on the multiplicity of checking forces.

Imagine a congress of celebrities such as More, Bacon, Grotius, Pascal, Cromwell, Bossuet, Montesquieu, Jefferson, Napoleon, Pitt, the result would be an Encyclopedia of Error.

Liberty depends on the union of innumerable conditions which embrace the entire life of man.

Nations that are without the self-governing force of religion are unfit for freedom.

Knowledge without religion will breed thieves and rogues.

Religion is the master key in human study.

The first of human concerns is religion.

It is liberty which fits men for liberty.

There is another world for the expiation of guilt, but the wages of folly are payable here below.

Liberty is the essential guard of truth.

Liberty is a great and precious gift of God—human excellence cannot grow up in a nation without it.

Constitutional freedom is a great and noble secret.

Liberty is an essential condition of excellence in human things.

As much authority as is wanted to protect the few against the many, the weak against the strong, is not contrary to freedom but is the condition of freedom (February 19th, 1881).

Nature is a better guide than culture, because nature comes from God and culture from man.

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Legislation should be for the people, and by the people. The cashiering of bad kings may be not only a right, but a duty.¹¹

No war can be just unless we are compelled to it in the sole cause of freedom.¹²

Murder may be done by legal means, by plausible and profitable war, by calumny as well as by the dose or the dagger.

And who can tell how much we owe, in the loyalty and love of our colonies, to the principle laid down in 1846 by Mr. Gladstone. He was Colonial Secretary at the time and the words were included in a speech he made at Chester. "The colonies should be governed on the principle of freedom."

Mr. Gladstone once said to me: "Up to this time men have been chosen as a rule for the Government by reason of their high character, their honourable estate, birth and upbringing, and not only for their capacity. But it remains to be proved whether men inferior in position, in birth and education and culture, men more accustomed to the business side of life, might not prove themselves the fittest to govern the country"—or words to this effect.

Since Christmas, 1916, often have these words come back to me, and in one of Lord Acton's lectures on the French Revolution there is a passage that bears on the same idea. Dealing with the historic Declaration of the Rights of Man, August 1779, which he describes as "a single page of print that outweighs libraries, and is stronger than all the armies of Napoleon," he adds that "it was not the work of superior but of mediocre minds." And Tom Paine, author of yet another trumpet call, was he a man of education or of any notable intellect? And Rousseau?

Lord Acton, with his vast knowledge, his profound thinking, was aware that equality in this world's goods is no more possible than equality in the goods of another

¹¹Thomas Aquinas.

¹²Fénelon.

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world. Mr. Gladstone enchanted Mr. Ruskin when he pronounced himself an inequalitarian. For both men in their wisdom knew that you might as well expect, by a rigid application of Eugenics, to make all men of the same stature and colour, of the same strength, physical or moral, of the same capacity and character, as make all men equal, simply by giving them all the same amount of money. If by one stroke of the magic wand all men tomorrow were to wake up, each possessed of two hundred pounds a year, in one week, possibly in one day, their equality would be gone. The Parable of the Talents is literally true to whatever kind of distribution it is applied—money, birth, will, brain, any quality of the heart, mind or body.

Both Lord Acton and Mr. Gladstone knew that the so-called doctrine of equality was disastrous to the cause of liberty, to division of power, co-operation, brotherhood; the changed heart; Christianity, in short, as taught by its Divine Founder, with its love, its truth, its service and its freedom. *Cui servire, regnare est.*

I remember the feeling of pride and joy when Lord Acton wrote down two passages about Liberty that I had happened to quote to him: "*La Liberté, c'est le remède de tous les maux,*" words that Ricassoli uttered in a memorable conversation with Mr. Gladstone—the only words I remember—heard as I listened, by permission, outside the door. The other was:

"Let there be Light, said Liberty
And like a sunrise on the sea
Athens arose."¹³

It is interesting to compare the effect of the two speakers on their hearers, for there is much similitude in what gave both men their superlative power and charm.

One who was present at Lord Acton's Cambridge Lectures thus describes his own sensations. "There

¹³Shelley's *Hellas*.

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was a magnetic quality in his voice, a light in his eye that compelled obedience from the mind. Never before had a young man come into the presence of such intensity of conviction as was shown by every word Lord Acton spoke. It took possession of the whole being and seemed to enfold it in its own flame. More than all else it was this conviction that gave to his Lectures their amazing force and vivacity"; while of Mr. Gladstone's speaking it has been said that every one who listened to him was equally inspired with his energy of sympathy, enthusiasm and conviction, and was possessed of the same lofty emotion as himself.

In each case none could fail to see how the speaker's mind "was possessed with the greatness of human affairs, with the final supremacy of the soul over circumstances, as the real ground for asserting the sacredness of truth and the inalienable glory of liberty." The union of faith with knowledge, and the eternal supremacy of righteousness, was the great message delivered by both these men to mankind. "Opinions alter, manners change, creeds rise and fall, but the Moral Law is inscribed on the tablets of eternity."¹⁴

When Mr. Gladstone had passed his eightieth year, and the General Election of 1892 had made him Prime Minister for the fourth time, "I thank God," Lord Acton wrote, "now that the earthly crown of your glorious life is very near." The crown that was then in his mind was the gift of liberty to the Irish Nation.

"I am a lover of liberty," Mr. Gladstone said. And he loved liberty, not as a political policy, but for itself, and in that name he had the world for an audience. His optimism and his profound belief in his cause must have partly arisen from his consciousness that he was listening to the Spirit of the Age.¹⁵ As has been finely expressed, he was defining the thought that was to determine the

¹⁴J. A. Froude.

¹⁵*Europe Unbound*, L. March Phillipps.

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future of Europe. Some day, perhaps, history may be written on these lines, the instinct of liberty as its central motive, with treaties, campaigns, the rise and fall of dynasties, of governments, of kings, as mere accidents and simply as part of the struggle towards a fuller realization of liberty, "as the spinal cord of the nation's life." "This is what binds our history together from age to age, and gives it unity and sequence."

Errors of judgment are common to all men, and Mr. Gladstone was only human. But, as he once said towards the end of his life to Lord Morley, it was the ever growing love of liberty that explains every change, every development of his mind. Great as was his long life of achievement, greatest of all was the man himself.

In September 1879 we were staying with Lord and Lady Acton at Tegernsee. One day (September 18th) my brother and I had rowed the three great men across the lake—Dr. Döllinger, Mr. Gladstone and Lord Acton. Walking home with the latter, we were, spite of thunder, lightning and rain, discussing Mr. Gladstone, and I wondered what would be the judgment of posterity if, in a hundred years' time we could come back to the earth. It was then that he unburdened himself of the great tribute which he afterwards embodied in a letter.

"The generation you consult will be democratic and better instructed than our own; for the progress of democracy, though not constant, is certain, and the progress of knowledge is both constant and certain. It will be more severe in literary judgments and more generous in political. With this prospect before me, I ought to have answered that, hereafter, when our descendants shall stand before the slab that is not yet laid among the monuments of famous Englishmen, they will say that Chatham knew how to inspire a nation with his energy, but was poorly furnished with knowledge and ideas; that the capacity of Fox was never proved in office, though he was the first of debaters; that Pitt,

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the strongest of ministers, was among the weakest of legislators; that no Foreign Secretary has equalled Canning, but that he showed no other administrative ability; that Peel, who excelled as an administrator, a debater and a tactician, fell everywhere short of genius; and that the highest merits of the five, without their drawbacks, were united in Mr. Gladstone.¹⁶ Possibly they may remember that his only rival in depth and wealth and force of mind, was neither admitted to the Cabinet nor buried in the Abbey. They will not say of him, as of Burke, that his writing equalled his speaking, or surpassed it like Macaulay's. For though his books manifest the range of his powers, if they do not establish a distinct and substantive reputation, they will breed regret that he suffered anything to divert him from the career in which his supremacy was undisputed among the men of his time. People who suspect that he sometimes disparaged himself by not recognizing the secret of his own superiority, will incline to believe that he fell into another error of wise and good men who are not ashamed to fail in the rigid estimate of characters and talents. This will serve them to explain his lofty unfitness to deal with sordid motives, and to control that undignified but necessary work; his inability to sway certain kinds of men, and that strange property of his influence, which is greatest with multitudes, less in society—and least at home. And it will help them to understand a mystery that is becoming very prominent, that he formed no school, and left no disciples who were to him what Wyndham, Grenville, Wellesley, Canning, Castlereagh,

¹⁶When I wrote to Lord Acton demurring to this wholesale comparison, he replied: "It is like you only to dispute the praise. But I spoke of the best qualities of the five, not of all their qualities—Pitt's art of making himself necessary to the King and the constituencies is unapproached. But then it is a vice not a virtue to live for expedients, and not for ideas. Chatham was very successful as a War Minister. Mr. Gladstone has not rivalled him in that capacity. I fancy that both Pitt and Peel had a stronger hold on the City."

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were to Pitt; that his colleagues followed him because he had the nation at his back, by force more than by persuasion, and chafed, as he did by the side of Palmerston."

"Some keys, I imagine, will be lost, and some finer lines will yield to the effacing fingers."

"But all the things about which no New Zealander will feel as we do, do not disturb your appeal to the serene and impartial judgment of history. When our problems are solved and our struggles ended, when distance has restored the proportions of things, and the sun has set for all but the highest summits, his fame will increase even in things where it seems impossible to add to it. Ask all the clever men you know who were the greatest British orators, and there are ten or twelve names that will appear on every list. There is no such acknowledged primacy among them as Mirabeau enjoys in France or Webster in America. Macaulay told me that Brougham was the best speaker he had heard; Lord Russell preferred Plunket; and Gaskell, Canning. I have heard people who judged by efficacy assign the first place to Peel, O'Connell, Palmerston."

"But the illustrious chain of English eloquence that begins in the Walpolean battles ends with Mr. Gladstone. His rivals divide his gifts, like the generals of Alexander. One may equal him in beauty of composition, another in the art of statement, and a third, perhaps, comes near him in fluency and fire. But he alone possesses all the qualities of an orator; and when men come to remember what his speeches accomplished, how it was the same whether he prepared an oration or hurled a reply, whether he addressed a British mob or the cream of Italian politicians, and would still be the same if he spoke in Latin to Convocation, they will admit no rival."

"*'C'est la grandeur de Berryer avec la souplesse de Thiers,'* was the judgment of the ablest of the Ultramontanes on his speech on Charities."¹⁷

¹⁷Montalembert.

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"There are especially two qualities which will not be found in other men. First, the vigorous and perpetual progress of his mind. . . . His other pre-eminent characteristic is the union of theory and policy. . . . In Mr. Gladstone there is all the resource and policy of the heroes of Carlyle's worship, and yet he moves scrupulously along the lines of the science of statesmanship. Those who deem that Burke was the first political genius until now must at this point admit his inferiority. He loved to evade the arbitration of principle. He was prolific of arguments that were admirable but not decisive. He dreaded two-edged weapons and maxims that faced both ways. . . ."

"Looking abroad, beyond the walls of Westminster, for objects worthy of comparison, they will say that other men, such as Hamilton and Cavour, accomplished work as great; that Turgot and Roon were unsurpassed in administrative craft; that Clay and Thiers were as dexterous in Parliamentary management; that Berryer and Webster resembled him in gifts of speech; Guizot and Radowitz in fulness of thought; but that in the three elements of greatness combined, the man, the power and the result—character, genius and success—none reached his level."

"The decisive test of his greatness will be the gap he will leave. Among those who come after him there will be none who understand that the men who pay wages ought not to be the political masters of those who earn them (because laws should be adapted to those who have the heaviest stake in the country, for whom misgovernment means, not mortified pride or stinted luxury, but want and pain and degradation, and risk to their own lives and to their children's souls), and who yet can understand and feel sympathy for institutions that incorporate tradition and prolong the reign of the dead."

"Fill the blanks, deepen the contrasts, shut your ears to the tones of my voice and, if you make believe very much, you shall hear the roll of the ages."

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Mr. Gladstone was laid to rest (1898) in the great Abbey which is the most precious monument of our history.

Lord Morley's is an unforgettable description of the mourning nations around his death bed: France, America, Russia, Italy, Greece, Roumania, Montenegro, Norway, Denmark, Macedonia, nations that had struggled or were still struggling to be free—"It was not at Westminster only that his praise went forth—famous men have the whole world for their tomb—in foreign lands a memorial of them is graven in the hearts of men. No other statesman on our famous roll has touched the imagination of so wide a world."

Lord Acton was laid to rest (1902) in the quiet churchyard at Tegernsee, near the cherished little daughter whose death bed he had comforted with the words, "Be glad, my child, you will soon be with Jesus Christ."

To both of these men centuries of errors, heavily burdened with sin and suffering, had not disturbed their faith in the promise of Christianity. They both "wooded religion with the unflinching sincerity of love, grateful for the graces which from the cradle to the grave had been vouchsafed to them. They committed the future of Catholic Christendom, and with it of mankind itself, to the paternal love and care of One, who is patient because He is eternal, of One to whom a thousand years is as one day."

"Let us praise famous men,
Men of little showing—
For their word continueth,
Deep and long continueth,
Wide and far continueth,
Far beyond their knowing."¹⁸

¹⁸Rudyard Kipling.

The New Realism and its Bearing on Theism

BY FREDERICK ROBERT TENNANT, D.D.,
*Lecturer in Theology and Fellow of Trinity College,
Cambridge.*

II

In a previous article a somewhat critical exposition was given of the cardinal principles of the New Realism, with a view to preparing for a discussion of their bearing on the theistic view of the world and the arguments on which theism rests. It was not intended to represent that all the tenets then enumerated and examined, together with all their apparent consequences, were held by all who profess allegiance to the new Realism. Realists, it was pointed out, differ somewhat among themselves; and no attempt was made to distinguish, or to pronounce judgment upon, the views of particular writers. Nor was it meant to be inferred that all realists adopt one and the same attitude towards theistic hopes and beliefs, or that they all agree that the fundamental doctrines of realism as such render one and the same attitude towards theism necessary: some realists happen to be theists, and others happen to be agnostics. Abstracting, then, from the diversities of personal convictions, which thus obtain between members of the school, the former article aimed at presenting a general view of a coherent body of doctrines such as may, we hope fairly, be taken to constitute the realistic philosophy.

The attempt will now be made to shew that if the positive, and the consequent negative, views which realists

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hold in common be accepted as true, theism may none the less claim to be a possible, and indeed a reasonable belief. One tenet alone, perhaps, amongst those which were described as characteristic of the New Realism, would in this connexion need to be excepted, supposing it were necessary to take it seriously; viz., the denial of consciousness as anything *sui generis*, or the attempt to dispense with the mental subject of experience, and the consequent dethronement of mind from the position of unique importance which philosophy has been wont to accord to it. But this negative doctrine, it may be remarked, to which some American realists have committed themselves, is by no means of universal acceptance within the neo-realistic school; nor indeed is it an essential part of realism in the sense that it is essentially and logically bound up with the principles constitutive of realism as a logic applied to actuality. Some realists reject it as utterly untenable. This in itself is sufficient to justify omission of further reference to it in the present, the more constructive, part of our task; while it is still less incumbent on the theist as yet to take the theory seriously because it has not hitherto been shaped into an explanation of the complexity and intricacy of what common sense calls the mental life of a self, with its chains of thought, memories, emotions, and imaginations, and volitions, but has only been framed to give a new explanation of external perception, which is but a fragment of consciousness. This particular opinion, therefore, may be left out of account, together with what seem to be its inevitably materialistic implications.

We proceed then to consider the several tenets of the New Realism which may be said to be indispensable to the realistic philosophy as a whole: or rather their consequences and outcome in so far as these are relevant to the grounding of theistic belief. That which first demands notice is the pluralistic theory of reality which alone renders possible any application of the realistic logic to the actual world. If there be one thing as to which all

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neo-realists are agreed, and hold to be fundamental truth—truth even more indubitable than their realism, from which some seem to be breaking away—it is the view that whatever else the world may or may not be, it is a plurality of independent reals. Thus Mr. Russell resolves a thing, or physical object, into a “class” of momentary, evanescent, sense-data, and a self into a class of momentary subjects, related causally—in the mathematical sense of causality, which excludes ideas of necessary, or teleological, connexion and of efficiency. With pluralism, with the denial, for instance, that things and selves are mere qualities or adjectives of an absolute One, theism has no quarrel; indeed in that it distinguishes itself from pantheism, it is committed to the view that the universe is a plurality. But what real and independent things are to be taken as ultimate elements, further indivisible in actuality however analysable in thought, theism would regard as an empirical problem. That whatever thought can analyse is actually complex, that the elements of such analysis are actual, and that things were actually put together out of the elements which analysis discovers or invents, are disputable propositions or dogmas, for which there can be no empirical justification; for no one has ever found, for instance, a term entirely unrelated, or a relation which did not subsist “between” terms. The analyst’s dissolution of the self, then, which if it correspond to anything actual would resolve all life and experience into illusion, theism can regard with equanimity. Theism professes to be grounded in knowledge of the actual world, empirically obtained; and so far, at least, it is on a par with science. If it reject the dogma that analysis is adequate to, exhaustive of, and has its counterpart in, actuality, as an assumption destitute of empirical basis and wholly subversive of common-sense, it does but restrict itself to an empirical foundation. It is pluralistic only so far as experience warrants plurality, and no further.

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Again, setting out from things as it finds them, i. e. as connected by such and such relations, and finding meaning and intelligibility in these connexions, and order in the empirical world, theism not merely recognizes the facts, but also conjectures that the facts may be significant. Theism, that is to say, carries with it to its study of the world that same "reasonableness" (over and above analytical "understanding") which the most realistically inclined pluralist finds indispensable for the conduct of life, however little justification he may find for it in realistic logic, and however completely he may dispense with it as a superfluity in his application of analysis to the physical world. The world is determinate and, at least to some extent, orderly. The latter fact of observation is the main difficulty for a philosophy of absolute pluralism; but pluralism's extremity is theism's opportunity. Pluralism, we repeat, is hard put to to account for the emergence of such order as the empirical world evinces; theism, on the other hand, offers an obviously sufficient explanation of the order, and is rather put in difficulties when confronted with such disorder, or imperfect order, as the world presents. But realistic pluralism, when strictly faithful to its analytical methods and logic and distrustful of reasonings beyond the sphere of applicability of such methods and logic, professes to renounce as futile all attempts to account for, explain, or interpret, the concatenations which exist between the plurality of things. Hence it denies to theism the reality of the advantage which theism claims to possess over absolute pluralism, viz., the capacity to explain or account for order.

There are perhaps only three conceivable ways of accounting for such order as we find. The first is to attribute it to chance, as did the Epicureans. The world has come to be what it is; unguided matter, after many cosmic revolutions, has arranged itself in a form which enables us to describe it as orderly rather than chaotic: just as, given a sufficient number of shufflings of sufficient founts

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of types, the play of Hamlet might be thrown. This is a possibility; its impossibility cannot be demonstrated; but it is not a reasonable probability, and modern philosophy can hardly be content with it. The second view is that the world's order is due to the mentality of the elements which compose it: natural law is settled habit in spiritual monads, and order is due to their conspiracy. But a plurality of self-subsistent and entirely independent monads, besides involving the spiritualistic assumption which realism rejects and to which theism can afford to be indifferent, does not in itself assure the emergence of order any more than disorder; for why should the monads necessarily conspire thereto? And moreover, it is a fatal objection to this view that order has been evolved out of the chaos or casual order, that the hardening of facts into habits already presupposes a stable or ordered system of conditions. Hence the third explanation, that of theism, which finds a basis for the world's necessarily "pre-established harmony" in the Mind of one Supreme controlling and ordering Being, seems alone satisfactory. Theism, then, has an explanation; and indeed the teleological argument on which theism is partly based, has always commended itself as worthy of respect, even to philosophers like Hume and Kant who have denied the cogency of theistic proofs in general. Leaving aside for the present the question whether such arguments from the world's order to a Divine Mind are cogent demonstrations, though observing that if we are to have any explanation at all, the theistic explanation is intellectually the most satisfying, we may consider the condition in which realism finds itself, and in which it sometimes rejoices, when confronted with order as an empirical fact. That the individual real elements of the world form classes, that they enter into these relations and not those, and that events coexist and succeed one another as they are found to do, appears to be for realism simply an ultimate brute fact, to be recognized without further question. Why, for

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instance, sense-data are "classed" so as to yield physical objects, or why instantaneous subjects exist in such series as yield the appearance of permanent selves, are questions which realism is bound to rule out as futile, in so far as it countenances only the analytical method and denies anything to be knowledge which is not reached exclusively by means of that method. Realism can only take determinate concatenations for ungrounded coincidences; the world is for it as destitute of meaning as is the world of scientific naturalism. Philosophy as usually understood would see in this condition a sign of impotence. Not so realism, however. Philosophy according to it should be knowledge, and nothing less; and knowledge must be obtained by the logic of realism, and in no other way. Explanation and interpretation, search for sufficient reasons, and so forth, are thought to be vain and logically worthless. Accordingly theism, which deals with what is not matter of possible demonstration, and is essentially interpretation, is excluded from knowledge and philosophy, and relegated to the realms of groundless faith. Realism starts from its plurality of related reals and refuses to go beyond unfounded coincidences. And thus we are led from its pluralism, which in a large measure, though with certain qualifications and supplementations, theism can accept, to its agnostic attitude.

Before attempting, however, to shew how theism replies to the dilemma which thorough-going realism presents—either agnosticism or belief based on anthropomorphic reasoning and motivated by sentimental craving for satisfaction of incidental human needs—we may observe that theism bases its case not merely on empirical knowledge of Nature, but more particularly on our empirical knowledge of man. The position to be assigned to man in the world is indeed determinative for theism. Arguments from Nature alone to God can yield at best but a very attenuated theism: and if man be but what naturalism

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and realism of the stricter kind declare him to be, the case for theism will be weak indeed.

The New Realism has not put forth its own philosophy of religion, nor has it developed systematically its demurrer to theology; and the idiosyncrasies of individual realists are scarcely a safe, if they were a possible, starting point for the discovery of what is the logical outcome of realism itself with regard to the position of man and his system of values. One eminent realist, Mr. Bertrand Russell, has written upon these subjects; and though his own realistic philosophy seems to remove the foundations on which his renunciation of theistic hope is based, so that his views cannot be regarded as a logical outcome of realism, they may, however, be used to serve here as a foil to the alleged facts and the theories on which theism reposes. This is particularly the case in connexion with our present question—the place of man in the universe.

The position from which Mr. Russell sets out in his two essays on religion, is crude scientific naturalism, which, if true, would imply the falsity of theistic belief. Theism contends that man is an organic constituent of the world; while naturalism and Mr. Russell's religious philosophy (which is indistinguishable therefrom) are concerned to represent that there is a gulf between man with his values and the world which is indifferent to them and destined to be destructive of them. The world, it is said, is non-moral; or it is bad—hostile to human moral ideals. So man is regarded as an alien excrescence upon a world which he is powerless to improve; his ideals and aspirations are a passing incident in the world's history; he condemns the world, and the world will extinguish him. From such a world there could, of course, be no argument to a God. But theism denies this dualism between man and the world, and once more bases its denial on empirical fact. For man is undoubtedly a product of the course of Nature, and his brain, which conditions his thinking, is physical matter similar to that of which the supposedly

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mechanical and mindless world is composed. Now the nature of the world must surely be judged by what is its outcome, the cause by the effect. If man be the son of mother Earth, Earth is such a mother as can give birth to, and has borne, a moral being; the world is of such a nature that it makes man's moral life a possibility, and realizes the values, aesthetic and intellectual, which he attributes to it. Regarded as a whole, then, it must be of such a nature that it and man have something in common. If man be natural—of the earth—and yet be spiritual and moral, then the spiritual is natural; and in so far as the natural world has produced man, the natural is moral and spiritual. Even if Nature "blundered on man" she must yet be judged by her blunder. Moreover, blundering and chance are just as much anthropomorphic conceptions as is purpose or design; and if theology have no right to use the one, realism has no more right to use the other. Every reasonable being, however, is compelled, for practical reasons or causes, to adopt one view or the other: and his attitude to the world, his "cosmic emotion," his religion or want of religion, must necessarily be determined by his choice.

Theism has made the choice which is dictated by the observed facts that "man is the child of Nature" and that "it is on the basis of natural impulses and in commerce with the system of external things that his ethical being is built up." To continue in the words of Professor Pringle-Pattison, theism draws the inference that "the characteristics of the ethical life must be taken as contributing to determine the nature of the system in which we live. The naturalistic choice which is made by some realists, whether or not it be the outcome of their realism, is determined, on the other hand, by an interpretation of the facts suggested by the scientific naturalism of a past generation with its dogma that mind is an epiphenomenon of matter. The world, for theism, is indeed not what it is for the thorough-going pluralistic realist, a mere aggregate

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of independent elements related this way rather than that at any moment for no reason or purpose. It is a whole, an One as well as a many, and its changes are not mere substitutions but progressive evolutions; while its nature or its "spirit," in the light of the facts which have just now been considered, is taken to be akin to the highest that man finds within himself. It is not through refusing to look the facts in the face, but through confronting physical facts with human ideals and finding that there is some discernible correspondence or connexion between the two, that theism is led to conjecture that behind the world's order and evolution, culminating in human life, there is a mind more or less akin to human moral intelligence. Man is of a piece with Nature; therefore Nature is of a piece with man. The world is suited to be a theatre for moral life, and has become such; the inference therefore is that it was *intended* so to be, that "soul-making" is its *raison d'être*. If it be hard to believe that beauty, intelligence, and morality are merely due to the clash of atoms or the whirling of the cosmic dust, and if it be absurd to judge of the nature of the world by its initial, in abstraction from its later, stages, and by its rudiments apart from the subsequent revelations of their potentialities, rather than in the light of what, in its higher developments, it has produced and sustained, then the theistic interpretation of the whole course of Nature crowning itself in man and his ideals, is reasonable, even if it lack rigid demonstration for the analytic understanding. However the fact is to be explained, it is empirical knowledge that the world has produced man, and that it possesses values for him. On that assured knowledge theism bases its faith; from such *terra firma* it takes its venturous leap. So far as the basal facts go, at least, empirical realism and theism can scarcely differ.

The facts being admitted, it must be then the theistic interpretation of them that realism might repudiate; and that, apparently, not so much because the theistic inter-

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pretation in particular is obviously invalid, as because all interpretation whatsoever is disallowed in that it goes beyond realistic data and logic. The craving for unity and system, the demand for interpretation in terms of human categories, have been said to be subjective, sentimental, anthropomorphic. Human hopes and religious beliefs are not denied by the cautious realist: such denial would equally transcend the reach of realism's data and logic. They are dismissed because they cannot be proved, in the sense of proof such as the analytical understanding requires. But the reply is that theistic interpretation does not profess to be of the nature of proof, though at the same time it does claim to be reasonable belief. And these two professions, the one positive and the other negative, need to be considered in further detail.

If realism, in its severer moods, really means to assert that we ought not and must not believe further than we can prove, and if it would repudiate theism because its belief does in this sense transcend verified knowledge, all that one can say is that realism must be content with but little knowledge with which to face life. We cannot *prove* that memory is trustworthy; we cannot *prove* the existence of other selves; we cannot *prove* the principle of uniformity. Obviously then the whole of our so-called knowledge which is worth having, is based on indemonstrable beliefs. Probability is the guide of life not merely within the realm of theology but also throughout those of science and common sense. The probability which is essential, and at the same time sufficient, for the carrying on of the practical business of ordinary life, inheres equally inextricably in every law of science. Why is it then to be eschewed as an utterly inadequate and unworthy basis for theological belief or religious faith? Probable knowledge certainly lacks the coerciveness of proof which we encounter in the sciences independent of concrete experience, such as the pure sciences of mathematics and logic; but it is all that we can have in any

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branch of knowledge, theological or scientific, which deals with the actual or the sense-given. In ordinary life we use probable knowledge of this sort with such convincedness of its truth that we are prepared at any moment to act upon it, and to abide by the consequences of so acting; and when we do, we count ourselves and our fellow men not unreasonable. It is the sole basis of every reasonable belief which we can entertain about the physical world and human society. There is simply no such thing as "rational" science, if rational mean deducible from nought but what is self-evident or capable of rigid logical demonstration. It cannot then be cast in the teeth of theism that it holds an unique position, in any sinister sense, with regard to other provinces of human knowledge, in not being rational. But although not rational, or not attainable from the hardest of data by application of the realistic logic alone, its adoption may for all that be far more reasonable or reasoned than its rejection.

All this needs insisting on not only to the foes of theism, whether they base their negative attitude on the realistic or on any other type of philosophy, but also to many of its professed friends. In some quarters the attempt has been made to succour distressed faith, more particularly Christian faith encompassed with the forces of scientific materialism on the one hand and historical criticism on the other, by the endeavour to show that theology is independent of, and should be isolated from all contact with, science, philosophy, and history. It has been attempted to found theology on value-judgments alone, and again on what is miscalled "immediate experience" alone.

But we cannot extract from value judgments any existential knowledge, or knowledge of actual objects, such as God or a future life, unless some such knowledge has first been surreptitiously foisted into them, in the disguise of ambiguous or equivocal terminology. Without knowledge of the structure and evolution of the world, for in-

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stance, and inferences therefrom, we cannot assume that the moral life of man, and his advance in culture—of which theism claims to be the necessary presupposition—are more than transient episodes in a blind cosmic dissolution and reintegration: in other words, it is only in conjunction with the teleological argument from the empirical fact of the existence of order, and such like existential reasonings, that moral arguments, or arguments from values, gain purchase. And with regard to the “immediate deliverances of the Christian consciousness,” to which many have of late appealed rather than to objective historical facts, it may be said that their immediacy is generally but a semblance of immediacy, mere individual unawareness of actual mediacy, and that in any case it has nothing in it of the nature of logical self-evidence with reference to objective or external fact. Yet recourse to these precarious grounds for theistic or Christian faith has been made, precisely because it has been thought, by theists and Christians, that knowledge which is mediated and only probable is an wholly inadequate and unworthy basis for religious faith. Not with such fearfulness, not by flight to refuge in subjectivity, must theism meet the philosopher’s charge that it is, in the strict sense, indemonstrable; it need only claim to be grounded, like science, on empirical fact, and to transcend the given facts in a way, similar in kind if different as to degree from that in which all so-called knowledge—all probable knowledge, that is to say—whether of science or common sense, transcends the facts.

So far we have seen that theism sets out from empirical facts, and that, recognizing that these facts cannot even be accounted facts unless certain indemonstrable beliefs be assumed, it refuses to sanction the hard and fast line which has sometimes been drawn between knowledge and belief. We have also seen that theism professes to belong to the sphere of belief rather than to that of verified knowledge in the strictest possible sense. It knows that it can

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have no grounds other than those of probability, which is after all the guide of life in all departments thereof. It insists that values are as objective as sense data, and bases itself on the ascertained relations which subsist between the two. In offering itself as an interpretation of the world as a whole, which to some extent at least is found to be a cosmos, it postulates that the world may be capable of interpretation; and surely no philosophy can foreclose inquiry as to this possibility by dogmatically asserting that it is necessarily futile. We can but try. Theism is the outcome of such a trial, and believes itself to be a successful one. If it be in agreement with the data, if it be self-consistent, so far it has a presumption of truth. No further verification, from the nature of the case, is possible. But for faith this is sufficient. And some practical attitude of belief or unbelief we must hold, at any rate in practical life where action is called for. We have seen that it is vain to speak of believing no further than we can see. Academic agnosticism may adopt such an attitude within the study; it must needs lay it aside, or rather take on innumerable beliefs and interpretative hypotheses as soon as it leaves the study for practical business in the world. And theism, though intellectually a philosophical theory, is primarily a belief adopted with reference to the challenge which life, or relations with the physical world and human society, inevitably thrusts upon us, compelling us as agents to take one side or the other. If in practical life we refused to believe where we could not prove, we should be but fools, not reasonable men. Interpretation and belief may not be rational, in the sense of being the logical issues of processes of the analytic understanding alone; but they belong to the very essence of reasonableness which is much more than the logical ratiocination of exclusively intellectualistic realism. If theism, then, be a reasonable and a reasoned conviction, such belief is not to be accounted a sentimental superstition. Theism may be a true or a false theory; but in so

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far merely as it is an interpretation rather than a datum or a deduction, it is no more necessarily false than it is necessarily true. If theism be true, it is presupposed that the world must be a self-explanatory whole. If, as thorough forms of pluralism assert, the world be merely an aggregate of independent or self-subsistent reals, associated solely by what is expressed by the word "and," and consequently a chaos, i.e., a casual order without meaning and without reason for being as it is rather than otherwise, there can be no explanation or interpretation of the world, and no possibility of arguing from it to God. The applicability of the realistic logic to the world in its entirety depends on the world being such a chaotic plurality and no more. But whether the actual world, as distinct from the ideal or pure world of realistic logic, be such a plurality and collection of unfounded coincidences, is an empirical question, not a logical one. As a matter of fact there are orders in the world, such as the colour scale, or the temporal order, and there are correlations of such orders, which result in what we call order. Thus the world appears to be significant as a whole rather than a meaningless aggregate. And to say that reality is a significant whole, in the technical sense of that phrase, is practically to say that it is teleological. This need not mean that the world is due to a preconceived plan or purpose, prior to its actual existence; but, without separating means and end, the world may be said to consist of parts dependent on the whole in respect of their specific nature and their interconnexion. If the realistic logic find no place for such a significant whole, it has no right to assert that there be no such thing in actuality.

We can certainly conceive such a whole; and the world can perfectly well be such a whole. If it be one, it will be a self-explanatory whole: that is, it will contain within itself the sufficient reason for being such as it is in its detail. The only kind of self-explanatory whole we can conceive is one which is the expression of purpose, the

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purpose being the good. As Professor Mackenzie has recently remarked, "there are two kinds of systems that have appealed to philosophical thinkers in almost all ages as types of a self-explanatory whole, mathematical systems and systems of human purposes." The former types, however, are explanatory only within their own limits or spheres, the conceptions of which call for interpretation by reference to their place in relation to all other fundamental conceptions, and do not explain anything outside those limits. In human life the guiding conception is that of value; and it is only the striving for the good which furnishes us with an explanation of rational choice such as leaves us without need of any further explanation. Hence, Professor Mackenzie argues, it seems natural to suppose that if the universe could be regarded as realizing what is best, this might be accepted as a complete and final or ultimate explanation of its existence and structure. This is of course precisely the explanation which theism affords. And, as we have already seen, the fact that the world is orderly, that it has evolved an ethical being in man, and is adapted to be the theatre of man's ethical life—the highest good which we can conceive for man or for God—are the grounds on which theism is led to assert that the ultimate explanation of the world (which includes, not excludes, man) is the existence of the ethical Being Whom we call God. Such an hypothesis alone seems to yield the desired explanation, if explanation we are to have.

So theism is grounded. But it remains to be seen whether the theistic explanation is adequate to meet all the facts which *prima facie* may be urged to be incongruent with it. As was previously remarked, the difficulty of unmitigated pluralism, realistic or spiritualistic, was presented by the order empirically discernible in the world; the difficulty of theism, on the other hand, being to account for the apparent disorder—the dysteleological as it has been called, the contingent, and above all the evil.

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And no constructive presentation of theism, especially when the construction is made under the eye of critical realism, could be complete which did not attempt to meet these several difficulties which culminate in, and may be summed up in, the existence of evil in a professedly "perfect world," or a world whose *raison d'être* were the realization of the highest good. To this problem we may in conclusion briefly turn.

If the answer can be given at all it must be contained in the original assertion of theism that the world, God's world, is the process in which the highest good for finite beings alone can be realized. If any one cares to raise the ulterior question, why a finite world at all, we can only reply that God without a finite world is no more conceivable for theism than a finite world without God. But, to keep to the problem before us, theism can only meet the problem of evil, and then perhaps can satisfactorily meet it, by urging that the evil of the world is not so much a means to the realization of the good, but rather a condition of its realization: in other words, that the possibility of evil, even its actuality, is necessarily implied in a moral universe. Herein lies the only satisfying answer to the old dilemma that the evil in the world implies either want of power or want of love in its Author. If power be not taken to imply capacity to realize a contradiction, which is merely an absurdity and not a meaning at all, and if love be a seeking of the highest welfare of the creature loved, then the dilemma can be met. For the highest welfare of man is his ethical development, and ethical development in a finite being implies the existence of evil in its various forms. But so long as theodicy regards evil as a necessary means to the good, and seeks to justify particular evils by pointing out the particular goods to which they may minister, no adequate solution of the problem of evil can be attained. The ulterior question will always arise, why the necessity of the general situation which renders the evil or painful remedy, or warning

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or discipline, indispensable? And to this the theist could give no answer on the lines of such theodicy as that upon which I am just now animadverting. Pain and evil must not be divinely willed means, chosen out of the indefinite number of possible means towards moral education, some amongst which conceivably might be other than painful or otherwise evil; they must be logically necessary, absolutely and inevitably implied in the very concept of a finite moral order such as a world, in order to be best of possible worlds, must again necessarily be. Theism is committed to the supposition that evil is the logically necessary outcome of a moral order developing towards perfection, and therefore to the supposition that no evil which occurs in the world—save in so far as man is responsible for its occurrence—is superfluous to a determinate cosmos intended to be the scene of the moral drama. If anyone can point to an evil which can be said to be in this way superfluous, he can invalidate the self-justifying arguments of theism as confronted with the problem of evil. But this danger is remote: as remote as is the possibility of disproving the existence of God, or of proving any negative, the capacity to prove which would involve nothing less than omniscience.

Now, in order to be a stage for a moral life, the course of Nature must be orderly: Nature must be a realm of law, not a chaos of incalculable miracle or chance. For without such uniformity, such conspiracy of its related elements and orders as would make the world a significant whole, there could be no possibility in human life of prediction or prudence, no formation of habit, no progress or culture, no intelligent or moral life. Order and law, such as science finds in the world, are the precondition of theism's argument from the world to God; and theism regards order, and law, when looking backward on them from the standpoint to which the theistic venture leads, as the expression of the moral purpose which the world subserves. A determinate order is the precondition of the

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highest good—moral development; but at the same time it is the inevitable source of physical evil, of the hurtful to man as well as the beneficial. Mere determinateness—being this and not that—and fixity of relations and properties such as things are found to have, involve certain concatenations of qualities and not others—that, e. g., water shall drown as well as cleanse: and thus it is that physical evils follow with the same necessity as physical goods from the determinate constitution of the world-order in virtue of which it is a suitable stage for intelligent and moral life. The existence of physical evil in the world is thus no necessary sign of want of either goodness or power in its Creator; it is simply a matter of compatibility of being and consistency of purpose and thought, an outcome of the determinateness of the world and of God, Whom theism, at least of the Christian type, must conceive of otherwise than as the indeterminate Absolute of ancient and modern philosophy.

The rejection of theism as incompatible with the existence of evil has often been motivated by, and based upon, a hedonistic ethic. Theism grants that this world is not the happiest conceivable world, i. e., the pleasantest or sensually the most enjoyable. But the theist precisely maintains that it was not meant to be. If it were, it would not be the best; it would not be of the highest worth. Happiness may be a constituent element in the highest good; but the end itself, and the ultimate standard of value, it is not. Hedonism indeed is now-a-days generally acknowledged to be psychologically untenable. Moral character and moral progress are the best things in the world, and indeed the best things there could be in any possible finite world such as ours. The best world cannot be the most pleasurable; and the most pleasurable cannot be the best. The best possible world cannot be the happiest while it is still in the making; nor can it be without its "crown" in finite moral agents. Thus, again, a clear statement of the position of theism is enough to turn the

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force of many an argument intended to bring an insuperable objection against it. If we play fast and not loose with the leading terms involved in discussion of the problem of evil—with terms such as “possible,” which does not include the impossible; with “best,” which does not denote the most pleasurable; with “God,” which is not identical with the indeterminate Absolute: we can then consistently maintain that a world such as is to be a self-explanatory whole, and a realization of an ethical end for a God of love, must needs be a world of order and uniformity, a world in which physical evil must, and moral evil may, find a place. That our world is of such a kind is then not incompatible with the theistic interpretation which the earlier portion of this article endeavoured to expound.

To sum up the results which I have attempted to establish. In the first place, the realistic canon, that nothing is knowable or demonstrable beyond what the realistic logic can prove, can be accepted by theism. But nescience as to the great human hopes—God, immortality, meliorism or optimism, etc., such as realism, if it were never to exceed itself, must imply, is not destructive of faith which insists on the reasonable human demand for interpretation. Such interpretation as theism seeks and finds would indeed be futile and superfluous if the actual world were no more than such an aggregate of self-subsistent reals as realistic pluralism requires that it must be if the realistic logic is to apply to it without remainder. But, and this is our second point, whether the world be of this nature, is an empirical, and not a purely logical question; and empirical investigation finds determinateness and order in the world. Rigid realism can ask and answer no “why,” as to the particular way in which the relations of its reals are determined; it leaves us with unfounded coincidences on our hands. It cannot, however, forbid the search for a sufficient explanation; nor can it dogmatically assert that the pluralistic universe is not at the same time

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a many in one, an unity or significant and self-explanatory whole. Theism conjectures that the world may be such a whole, and that its most satisfactory explanation is the postulate of the existence of God. The universe is not a chaotic plurality—the facts forbid any such view; it is a cosmos. Thirdly, the world has produced man, an ethical being; it subserves his moral life, and is patient of some at least of his moral ideals. Man and the world are of a piece, not alien to one another: hence the conjecture that the universe is the expression of an ethical end. Fourthly, for the practical conduct of life, the guide of which is probability, belief, as contrasted with knowledge amenable through use of the analytical understanding, is a *sine qua non*. And theism is essentially a matter of practical life, like belief in the existence of other selves than our own; and it is similarly grounded. Theism takes its departure from facts, and interprets the facts without violence to them; it is therefore a reasoned and reasonable belief. No more is claimed, and no more is needed. Realism, too, must believe a great deal more than it can prove; so here again there is no contradiction between the two systems. Lastly, the theistic view of the world does not break down when confronted with its gravest difficulty, viz., the group of problems concerning finitude and contingency, culminating and summing themselves up in the problem of evil. Evil can be explained, and can be shewn to be compatible with theistic belief, if only we avoid hedonism and playing fast and loose with words. Evil, it has been represented, as a condition or an implication of such a world as ours, according to the theistic view, is and must be. And in so far as realism is prepared to recognize the existence of values, it can scarcely have any substantial demurrer to the theistic hope, or any substantial ground for indulging in anti-theistic fears.

Christian Social and Socialist Tendencies

BY GILBERT CLIVE BINYON, M.A.

I

In the article on Socialism in the *Catholic Encyclopaedia* (vol. xiv, p. 67) the following passage occurs:

"The 'Christian Socialists' of all countries fall readily, upon examination, into one of three categories. Either they are very imperfectly Christian, as the Lutheran followers of Stöcker and Naumann in Germany, or the Calvinist Socialists in France, or the numerous vaguely-doctrinal 'Free Church' Socialists in England or America; or secondly, they are but very inaccurately styled 'Socialist'; as were the group led by Kingsley, Maurice, and Hughes in England, or 'Catholic Democrats' like Ketteler, Manning, Descurtins, the 'Sillonists'; or, thirdly, where there is an acceptance of the main Christian doctrine, side by side with the advocacy of Revolutionary Socialism, as is the case with the English 'Guild of St. Matthew' or the New York Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labour, it can only be ascribed to that mental facility for holding at the same time incompatible doctrines, which is everywhere the mark of the 'Catholic but not Roman' school."

Several comments might be made upon this paragraph. For example, the writer, although he does not say so, appears to assume that the Inner Mission associated with the names of Stöcker and others is genuinely Socialist; but this is far from being the case. Again, the names in the second group belong to very different periods and circumstances and represent standpoints varying accordingly, so that they cannot very accurately be brought all under one heading. However, the whole passage is now somewhat out of date, and I do not quote it for the sake of making criticisms upon it, but because I am in agreement with what I take to be its general tenor,

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namely, that those who, in the most elastic use of both terms, might be described as being at once Christians and Socialists, will commonly be found to be either genuinely Christian but vague and uncertain about their Socialism or genuinely Socialist but vague and uncertain about their Christianity, and that those who are genuinely Christian and Socialist belong (for the most part) to the Anglican Communion.

When it is alleged that Socialism or Social Democracy is incompatible with Christianity, the assertion is sometimes made on the ground of misunderstandings or side-issues or subsidiary questions which do not affect the main point; but there are two features in the alleged antagonism which are of real importance.

The first is concerned with a divergence of views about personality and property and justice. This matter I referred to in a previous article in *THE CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY* (on *The Theological Reaction of Social Democratic Ideals*, March, 1918), suggesting that the rise of modern Socialism points the way to a recovery and an application of the true Biblical and Catholic Tradition on this subject.

But Social Democracy is also criticized on another ground. It is supposed that democracy does away with the idea of right and wrong, substituting for it the will of the majority or an agreement or compromise arrived at by representatives of various parties or interests. And this criticism is a very appropriate one as applied to the Manchester School, if not to all forms of bourgeois-political democracy. But Social Democracy, in so far as it presupposes, includes, and builds upon political democracy in the sense of representative government, adopts it (I believe I am justified in saying), explicitly or unconsciously, in quite another manner. "The first thing to understand about Socialism," I remember hearing someone once declare, "is its ethical basis, its moral dynamic"; and, so far, it is in harmony with the in-

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transigence of those who, in the name of authority, oppose "liberalism" or "democracy" in the sense of empirical progress towards an unknown destination. But such intransigence is always qualified in two ways,—by the principle of toleration, and by the principle of allowing room for new developments and applications of the moral ideas which have been adopted or are believed to have been revealed. In the case of autocracy, these qualifying limitations receive no formal recognition; and this brings about the downfall of autocracy; in the case of Socialism, they receive formal recognition in the democratic nature of the political structure. Understood in this way, democracy, that is to say the political part of Social Democracy, is something very different from mob-rule, or majority rule, or even representative government as conceived of by those who have no plan but assert that "all the interests ought to be represented"; it is a method of preventing, on the one hand, a stagnation and repression of progress and, on the other, a forcing of the pace beyond what people are ready for.

On these lines we come to the conclusion that there is no inherent and essential contradiction between Christian and Socialist principles, but that various contributing causes have for the moment produced that antagonism which at present exists.

This antagonism has in some quarters actually been broken through; Christianity and Socialism, definite in both cases, are combined in the Church Socialist League, the Catholic Socialist Society, the National Free Church Socialist League, and the Quaker Socialist Society.

Moreover, even where this blending of the Christian and the Socialist streams has not taken place, there is an increasing amount of what is sometimes called Catholic Democracy, or the Christian-Social point of view, often known as "Christian Socialism." As I write, there lies before me a copy of a document called *Christian Social Reconstruction: A Statement of Principles and Proposals*

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put forward by the Interdenominational Conference of Social Service Unions. The societies whose representatives formed the Interdenominational Conference were: the Baptist Union Social Service Section, the Catholic Social Guild, the Christian Social Union, the Congregational Union Social Service Committee, the Friends' Social Union, the Unitarian and Free Christian Union for Social Service, the Presbyterian Social Service Union, the Primitive Methodist Union for Social Service, the United Methodist Union for Social Service, and the Wesleyan Methodist Union for Social Service.

In the former paper in *THE CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY* already mentioned, I expressed the opinion that the assimilation by Church people of the moral ideals of Labour and Socialism needs to be distinguished from, if not all, then most forms of what is known as Christian Socialism, and that, unless the greatest discrimination is exercised, Christian Social reform might well cause the last state of the Church to be worse than the first. It is with this discrimination that the present paper deals.

II

The principles of the Christian Social Union, as officially stated, are:

1. To claim for the Christian law the ultimate authority to rule social practice.
2. To study in common how to apply the moral truths and principles of Christianity to the social and economic difficulties of the present time.
3. To present Christ in practical life as the living Master and King, the enemy of wrong and selfishness, the power of righteousness and love.

With reference to this society, the following paragraph appeared in the *Church Socialist* for July, 1917.

"The great point of the Union is 'to claim for the Christian law the ultimate authority to rule social practice.' This of course involves the root of the matter. But as the C. S. U. has no official opinion whatever as to *what* 'the Christian law' has to say to existing condi-

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tions, the natural consequence is that its position, if one judges it in the mass, is altogether nebulous; a very large proportion of its rank-and-file members are very imperfectly converted persons from any kind of Christian Socialist standpoint. On the other hand, the attitude of some of its most prominent leaders, notably Bishop Gore and Canon Scott Holland, leaves little, or nothing to be desired. The Union divides its energies between the advocacy of sundry minor (though sometimes important) reforms of an immediately practicable kind, and study. The value and necessity of the latter cannot indeed be exaggerated, but the C. S. U. is *so* devoted to it as to afford a little colour to the unkind *mot* that it is 'always learning, and never coming to a knowledge of the truth.' On the whole, the Union does no doubt do a valuable work in the way of permeation, but its influence may also in some respects prove positively dangerous, unless it is balanced by organizations within the Church, making a more out-and-out stand."

The reason why the influence of the Christian Social Union "may in some respects prove positively dangerous" and might lead to the last state of the Church being worse than the first will plainly appear if we reflect on the circumstance that in the highly complex society of today the individual is hopelessly entangled in the whole social system.

If people who have hitherto considered themselves to be Christian citizens of a Christian nation set out, for the first time, to bring their religion into their daily lives, one of two results must sooner or later take place.

The former alternative would be a perversion of religion. In this case, exploitation becomes the Christian zeal and enterprise of the capitalists and the self-sacrificing devotion of the proletariat cheered on by the welfare work and social service of the shareholding class. This deplorable point of view is happily infrequent; yet it would be a natural and logical result, if it is assumed that nothing is needed but that everybody, each in his occupation and business, his rank and station,—“high and low, rich and poor, one with another,”—should display a spirit of brotherhood; and this assumption is frequently made.

The latter alternative is the discovery that the existing unsocial disorder contradicts Christian principles and that to claim for the Christian law the ultimate authority

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to rule social practice is to demand, not only in the lives and behaviour of individuals, but also in the form and system of social organization, an application of Christian principles. In other words, we have to do with an extension of the idea of conversion or the birth from above.

The idea of social progress being "from above" is, it may be said, the merest platitude; Christians do not need to be reminded by anyone, least of all by agnostic or atheist Socialists, that the world needs regeneration. But it will seem less of a platitude if we read the following paragraphs from Mr. G. D. H. Cole's *World of Labour*:

"'Peace,' 'love' and 'brotherhood' are surely what we are all out to realize. How nice then to realize them here and now! Social peace! A country without strikes! Co-partnership and co-operation of worker and employer! How delightful, and how soothing to the troubled social conscience!

When all this is hypocrisy, it is bad enough; when it is mere stupidity, it is even worse. There are, unfortunately, people who really believe in social peace from disinterested motives, and are earnestly engaged in its furtherance. They have been deceived by the nonsensical or hypocritical talk of those who pretend that 'the interests of Capital and Labour are identical,' and that all that is needed is 'a better understanding of economic truths on both sides'—especially on the side of Labour."

Language such as this is, no doubt, open to certain criticisms, but the general sense of it,—that what is required is social peace and brotherhood, not within, but by the supersession of, capitalism,—provokes no widespread response among Christian people, and is, in fact, very often disliked and deprecated just in proportion to the earnestness and devoutness with which Christianity is believed in.

The fact is that among Christian people generally, including "a very large proportion of the rank and file members" of the Christian Social Union and (I think it would be fair to add) of similar Christian Social or Social Service societies, there is no adequate conception, not only of what the Christian law demands, but even of what it is.

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As I maintained in the previous paper on the theological reaction of Social Democratic ideals, the true Biblical and Catholic tradition,—the real Christian social ideal,—has a communistic quality, and envisages everything against the background of man's dependence upon Nature for the means of life, and sees in the Motherhood of Earth a reflection of the Fatherhood of God. Expressed in language consonant with evolutionary ideas, it may be described as a continuous approximation towards communistic anarchism.

§ An assimilation by Church people of this social ideal,—now practically in the guardianship, not of the Church, but of the Socialists,—is helped or hindered by certain theological and religious ideas. With those I have already endeavoured to deal; and we need not here consider them further, except to notice, negatively, that such an assimilation or recovery is practically impossible for those who think only of a future world and not at all of the future of the world, or for those whose ideas about the Second Coming of our Lord effectually prevent any far-reaching schemes extending to future generations, or for those who reject, as “mystical” and as ethically mischievous, the thought of the socially interpenetrating nature of personal life. What we are concerned with now is the advantage which this moral social ideal, at once Biblical, Catholic, and Socialist, gives us in our outlook on political and economic subjects, and the effect of its presence or absence upon discriminating between various alternatives.

III

Its controlling presence gives us a start on the right lines.

This may be illustrated by the following quotation from Professor Scott Holland's chapter on “Property and Personality” in the volume called *Property: its rights and duties*—

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"The industrial world of the nineteenth century . . . had forgotten that there was any question as to the right of private property to exist, or as to the conditions of its origin. . . . It is this intellectual passage from the conception of private property as secondary and contingent to the conception of it as ultimate and absolute, which has caused all the trouble. And this passage was made, almost insensibly, through the intense realization of the value to be set on the liberty of the individual to live his own life. . . . Was not this a false start?"

This false start we inevitably make unless we recover the true Christian tradition of social ideals; and it leads us nowhither. An individualistic conception of justice brings us to the same *impasse* that we are all familiar with in the case of the cat and the mouse, the spider and the fly. We go to see *Justice* or *Strife* or *The Silver Box* and come away quickened with no renewed passion for social righteousness but with a puzzled sense of not knowing who or what is right. We speak of rich men as "stewards," but this has singularly little influence and only tends to stereotype inequality. In short, we remain in a state of permanent inability to take sides with Labour. This is dwelt on by Mr. George Lansbury in his book, *Your Part in Poverty*, where, after contrasting it with the attitude of the Churches with reference to the war, he says,

"The Church cannot have it both ways. If it is right in taking sides in war, it cannot be right in refusing to take sides in labour conflicts: let it take sides in war by all means if it really feels that compatible with the teaching of Christ, but then let it be logical and take sides in labour conflicts too."

There is, of course, more logic or consistency in the position which Mr. Lansbury criticizes than might appear, the taking of sides in the one case being related to the refusal to do so in the other; but the idea that Christian people always do wrong in taking sides at all ought now to be finally disposed of.

If we start on the right lines, we possess a "scale of values" which illuminates the whole situation. Once we recover the conception of righteousness or social justice as it appears in the prophets and psalmists of Israel, we

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are brought out of a condition of interminable indecision and reborn into another point of view. It has been frequently pointed out,—and it is a strange commentary on the way in which we read our Bibles that it should need to be pointed out,—that in these Scriptures God is represented as being on the side of the poor against the rich. “In the Bible,” said a great preacher in a course of Holy Week sermons,

“the fact of the difference between rich and poor is not a mere example, a mere touch; one thing among many with which God is displeased. Nay, that difference between the rich and the poor is the very poison, the very wound, the very disgrace from which we suffer. All through the Old Testament there goes that cry—God has taken upon Him the cause of the poor and the oppressed. That is the essence of sin, the making of rich and poor.”

Plenty of people believe in a general way that God is on the side of the poor and oppressed; but the thought is constantly crossed and blurred and allowed to slip out of sight and consciousness because the contrast of riches and poverty is thought of as only one thing among many with which God is displeased, and (very often) by no means the greatest at that. For example, an effort to deal with the very bad housing conditions which exist in many places often finds little support among Church people, partly no doubt from sheer indifference, but partly also because other circumstances, such as the failure of the individuals living in these places to attend divine worship, are allowed to have an equal or even a greater importance in the mind. It is a question of a scale of values, of the relative importance to be attached to various things.

The controlling presence of the thought that the contrast of riches and poverty is not one thing among many with which God is displeased, but is the outward and visible sign of the essence of sin, has a profoundly modifying influence; it suggests, for example, that there is a good deal amiss with a great part of our current devotional literature and especially with the self-examination ques-

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tions in Communicants' Manuals; it suggests, too, that missions to the slums should be replaced by missions to the rich. In short, we are brought round to the conclusion that the problem of the Church's social mission or work or service is, in one aspect, first of all a problem of recovering, within the Church, the ethical ideas out of which the work should proceed.

If it should be supposed that those who consider social justice to be of primary and fundamental importance must necessarily for that reason look on everything else—the virtues and vices of individuals—as of little or no importance, the following sentences from one of the Rev. J. Stitt Wilson's *Social Crusade* pamphlets may be of interest:

"The problem of justice in bread-getting involves the whole man. It is the problem of the release of the mind. It is the problem of the free soul. It is the problem of freedom, the problem of righteousness, the problem of the Kingdom of God in the earth. By all the sacredness and possibility of the soul of man this problem must be confronted and settled. It is not a side-issue, it is a supreme issue. It is not for the afterthoughts of your religion or righteousness. It is primary and fundamental."

It is not that nothing else is of any importance, but that everything else is capable of being regarded as a part of, a falling away from, a restoration to, or a development from, this one thing, the seeking of God's Kingdom and righteousness.

But the controlling presence of this social ideal with its scale of moral values does not only bring us out of an endless balancing of conflicting claims. Once we envisage organized social life as built upon the extraction, manufacture, and distribution of Nature's gifts of the means of life, the whole capitalist structure of society appears as an altogether irrational disorder, definitely contradicting Christian principles. In this way we are enabled to apprehend more clearly the idea of the rightness or wrongness of systems and institutions. This idea is not always an easy one to grasp so long as we approach with indi-

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vidualistic prepossessions in mind; but if we start on the right lines, this idea of the morality of the social order, as something distinguishable from that of individuals, falls naturally and inevitably into place. As we have seen, this is absolutely necessary in the highly complex society of today; for the capitalist system distorts everything, not only industry, but also the meaning of such words and phrases as solidarity, public spirit, the common good, and so on, which we may find ourselves using to justify being partakers in other men's sins through such things as blind obedience to the State or loyalty to a sweating employer, forgetting that Christ, reigning from the tree, issues His royal commands to humanity through the needs of the poor.

We are thus introduced to what may be called a proletarian standpoint, such as is assumed and expressed throughout the Psalter.

IV

When a *rapprochement* between the Church and Labour, the conditions of which in the realm of theological and moral ideas we have been endeavouring to discover, is spoken of, it is not always very clear what is meant by Labour. All denominations contain a considerable number of working-class members; so that if the words Church and Labour are used to represent two groups which are now more or less estranged from one another, the latter word, we must assume, is used in the sense, not so much of "labour" generally or manual workers, as of organized Labour,—Trade Unionists and Socialists; and this is expressly explained as the usage of the word in, for example, Mr. Reginald A. Bray's *Labour and the Churches*, and, no doubt, is commonly understood and taken for granted. But this idea that the Church and Labour, so understood, should draw together and make common cause, contains an implication which is less commonly

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taken for granted. Apart from this special connection, the antithesis to Church is the world or the heathen, while the antithesis to Labour or Socialist is capitalist. It thus appears that when we speak of a present estrangement and a possible closer union in the future between the Church and Labour, we are, consciously or unconsciously, assuming that the Church is practically identified with the capitalist point of view.

Here some readers may be eager to remark that on these lines the standpoint of Labour and Socialism is practically identical with that of the world or the heathen; and their minds will become occupied with such thoughts as that of the evangelizing of the masses, or the winning of the people for the Church. But such missionizing projects, whatever may be said in favour of them, will necessarily, unless the Socialist conception of justice and righteousness be first adopted, be something very like, or will appear to organized Labour as being, an attempt to divert the Movement from its course and capture it in the interests of capitalist society, and will be resented as such.

Once more, the problem of the Church's social mission or relation to the Social question and organized Labour, turns out, on closer inspection, to be, in one aspect, a problem of internal reform, the revision and reconsideration of current ideas of justice and brotherhood.

But only in one aspect; there is all the practical work that is now going on, carried out from the Christian-Social standpoint or that of Catholic Democracy; and the point which we now go on to consider is the effect which an assimilation by us as Church people of the Social Democratic ideal will have upon us when we come to discriminate between various alternatives presented to us in this realm of practical work and social service.

The Christian-Social point of view is sometimes understood as being quite consistent with Conservatism, more often as a species of Liberalism or Radicalism, but most

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commonly as being independent of these or other political labels and as being simply and distinctively Christian. This last position is far superior to the other two; for the Industrial Revolution and Modern Capitalism have transferred the real interest in public affairs from the political to the economic field, so that the proper question is concerned, primarily, with the position taken up with reference to the capitalist system.

It is here that a parting of the ways comes in sight.

The one path is an acceptance of capitalism. When we acquiesce in it simply through omitting to notice its character, it is strange enough; but when, after being brought to close quarters with it by means of Christian Social Service, or after examining it from this point of view, it is stranger still; and this path,—the acceptance of capitalism and the definite limitation of our work to reform and social service within the capitalist system, in rivalry with and opposition to Socialist activity directed towards superseding the system,—heads straight for a real perversion of the Christian Religion into a combination of the Christian theological nomenclature with the selflessness of that group-egoism which says, "Is not this great Babylon that I have built?" But I prefer to think and to hope that Christian-Social activities cannot for long be continued without the discovery being made that more is needed, the other path being thus chosen; this may be described indifferently as a negation of capitalism, as a recovery of the true tradition in Christian social ideals, or as an adoption of the principles of Socialism.

What I have just described as an acceptance or negation of the capitalist system is, in its essential nature, a spiritual matter. For, no matter what principles or ideals we hold, none of us can escape living within capitalist society; but we may do so, either with the consciousness of a painful and temporary accommodation, or with an unconscious or even explicit agreement.

But although, in its essential nature this is a spiritual

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matter, it is also a practical one. A negation of capitalism carries with it an inner strain and tension, which can only be relieved by some form of outward expression; otherwise, magnanimous accommodation passes over into pusillanimous agreement; so that this interior strain and opposition, due to the contradiction between Christian principles and the capitalist system, develops at last into an adoption of the Socialist programme as the expression of our principles and ideals.

Those who think that the moral ideal of Socialism does not necessarily involve the actual Socialist programme, but might be realized in some other way, may be invited to explain what alternatives there are to the capitalist system other than Socialism. It is a curious thing that those who approach these matters from the side of religion and ethics nearly always want to do so as though no one had ever considered them before, or at any rate as though for some reason Socialist ideas were discredited at the start or could be dismissed out of hand; it is forgotten or ignored that organized Socialism is itself the result of generations of thought and experience, and is all based on the idea of replacing capitalism.

If we take the line that the Biblical and Catholic tradition in social ideals is now practically in the guardianship of the Socialists and thus adopt the programme directed towards substituting Socialism for capitalism, it does not by any means follow that all and every form of social service and reform is thereby necessarily set aside. Such work is often useful and important.

But unless it is done in the consciousness of a temporary self-accommodation and adaptation to present needs, it branches off into the other line, the other path, an acceptance of and agreement with the capitalist system and its antagonism to the Socialist and really Christian conception of brotherhood and justice. Speaking of the work of After-Care Committees, Mr. C. M. Lloyd wrote once as follows:

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“When all Care Committee workers are filled with shame at entering a poor man’s home, investigating his income, or giving him tickets for coal or cheap boots,—shame not only at their interference, but shame at the poverty which is the excuse for it,—then we shall have Care Committees made of the right stuff.”

We thus return to the spiritual and moral question, the matter of the recovery by the Church of its own true social idealism. And it is the contention of this paper that, very often, a more important question than, What is the Church’s duty with reference to the Social problem? is, What is the influence of the social problem and of Socialism upon the Church’s religious and ethical ideas?

The Christ of Mark's Gospel

BY A. T. ROBERTSON,

*Professor of Interpretation of the New Testament,
Southern Baptist Theological Seminary.*

It is eminently worth our while to look at the picture of Christ in Mark's Gospel. If John's Gospel is the latest, Mark's is the earliest. Modern criticism is almost unanimous in the opinion that Matthew and Luke incorporate Mark as their chief source along with Q (the *Logia of Jesus*) and some other special sources. It is generally held that Mark is later than Q and may have used Q, but we do not actually have Q save as a matter of critical analysis. However, we do possess Mark. Not all the critics yet agree that our canonical Mark was written by John Mark. The Ur-Marcus theory still has a following, as, for instance, Wendling, who postulates three "Marks." Others, like Bacon, favour the Redactor theory involving a considerable revision of the original Mark (by John Mark). The purpose of this article is not to go again into a discussion of *Mark's Gospel and the Synoptic Problem*.¹ We may let the question rest for our purposes now with the curt conclusion of Pfleiderer: "Nothing can be urged against the Church tradition that this Gospel was written by John Mark" (*Christian Origins*, tr., 1906, p. 222). We are, however, concerned with what Pfleiderer goes on to add: "Such a man might well have been the author of the Gospel which unites the Jesus of the Palestinian tradition, the energetic hero of a Jewish reform movement, with the Christ of the Pauline theology, the

¹ See article by the author in the CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY, March, 1918.

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suffering hero of a mystical world-salvation, and thus paved the way which was finished two generations later in the Gospel of John." So then, according to Pfleiderer, Mark is chiefly responsible for giving permanent form to the theologizing about Jesus which made a divine Christ out of him. We have passed through the "Jesus or Christ" controversy (*Hibbert Journal Supplement* for 1909). But the alternative will not stand sober criticism. Jesus is the Christ of Mark, of Matthew, of Luke, of John, of Paul, of Peter, of James, of Jude, of Hebrews. We went through the "Back to Christ" cry to get away from the Pauline Christ and the Johannine Christ. The Synoptic Christ was what was wanted. But, lo, he is the same in outline as the Johannine and the Pauline Christ. It is now clear that Paul did not "invent" Christ out of the Jesus of history. Criticism has discovered Q, the main source of the discourses of Jesus in Matthew and Luke, used on a par with Mark's Gospel by them, possibly used even by Mark. But the picture of Jesus in Q is the same in fundamental outlines as that in the Synoptic Gospels. Schweitzer taunts modern German criticism with pitching overboard everything save "only a torn and tattered Gospel of Mark" (*The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, tr. 1910, p. 307), and then being dissatisfied with the picture of Jesus left in the fragments. The "liberal Jesus," he argues, "has given place to the Germanic Jesus." After finding Mark as the basis of Matthew and Luke these critics have proceeded to modernize Mark and have brought about "the downfall of the Gospel of Mark as an historical source" to their own satisfaction. Where then is the "historical Jesus" which was promised us? "The Germanic spirit is making a Jesus after its own likeness" and Schweitzer concludes: "This professedly historical Jesus is not a purely historical figure, but one which has been artificially transplanted into history." That indictment stands, though one need not follow Schweitzer in his "eschatological" vagaries.

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Pfleiderer does not mean to admit that Mark's picture of Christ is veracious. "The distinction between Mark, the other two synoptists, and John is only relative." But he holds "that the Christ of the first three Gospels appears as a real man and not yet as a God become man" (*Christian Origins*, p. 10). "A comparison with the other Gospels reveals that Mark represents an earlier stage of apologetic authorship and hence a comparatively clearer and more naive presentation of tradition" (p. 217). Clearly, then, there is ample justification for a close look at Mark's picture of Jesus. But Bacon considers Mark "the most Pauline of the Synoptic Gospels" and holds that the dominant idea of the whole Gospel is "to produce belief in his person as Son of God" (*Beginnings of Gospel Story*, 1909, p. xxvii). This may be admitted without in the least discrediting the historical worth of Mark's Gospel. There is small use for any man to write a book unless he has a serious purpose in view. It is true, as Pfleiderer charges, that all the Gospels have an apologetic value. The same thing is true of every scientific paper that supports a thesis.

But while this is true, Mark's Christ has the note of reality. It is true that Peter's preaching lies behind the second Gospel though the book is not a mere translation of Peter's Aramaic discourses. Mark has made a real book, but without destroying the freshness of Peter's picture of Jesus. Peter made Mark see Jesus with great vividness and power and he has preserved the startling boldness of that image. Mark himself was not a theologian with a touch of philosophy like John or a scholarly historian like Luke or a man of affairs with his tabulated lists like Matthew. He took his task to be rather that of the reporter of the great apostle, Simon Peter, the glowing preacher whose warmth and colour greatly moved Mark's heart and life as well as thousands of other lives. The reports of Peter's discourses in Acts 2 and 10 make it easy to believe that Peter's hearers in Rome and elsewhere

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besought Mark to write out his recollections of these wonderful addresses. If we wish to get a clear idea of the way that the early disciples portrayed Jesus in their sermons we may obtain that conception in Mark's Gospel. It is the preacher's picture of Christ, the preacher who knew Jesus by blessed experience and who was trying to win others to the service of Christ. Paul reminded the Galatians, "before whose eyes Jesus Christ was openly set forth crucified" (Gal. 3:1), of his own picturesque preaching of Christ.

We have in Mark's Gospel, thus, our earliest picture of Christ in any adequate sense, for Q is only a torso. It is of supreme importance for us all to look at Mark's Christ with clear eyes and open hearts and honest minds. It is held by some that the opening words of this Gospel (1:1) constitute a mere headline and were not a part of the original Mark. But "whether the present headline of the Gospel is due to St. Mark or to an early editor, it admirably expresses the idea of the book. It is *the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God*" (Swete, *Commentary*, p. lxxxiv). It is thus not exactly "The Life of Christ according to St. Mark" as Bennett has it in his excellent discussion (1907). Mark does not undertake to give us the Life of Christ, but the message of Jesus in its essential features and enough of his claims and acts to prove that Jesus is in reality "the Christ, the Son of God," though not all the manuscripts have "the Son of God." We must not be misled into thinking that Mark has given us or meant to give us a collection of the words of Jesus. What he has done for us is to present Christ in action both as Worker and as Teacher. We see Jesus as the man of power and it is the power of God and not of a mere man. Mark has little theology in his book in the sense of theological or philosophical terms, and yet all the fundamental doctrines concerning the Person and Work of Christ are here. He does not conceal his own opinion about Jesus, though there is no abstract discussion as one finds in a modern

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treatise like Fairbairn's *The Place of Christ in Modern Theology* (1893), Forsyth's *The Person and Place of Jesus Christ* (1909), or Moffatt's *Theology of the Gospels* (1912). It will not do to depreciate Mark's method as wholly lacking in merit because he is more objective and concrete. The peculiar vitality of this Gospel is partly due to this very fact. Mark's picture of Christ stirs the mind to intense activity and is creative of the truest theology.

The limitations of Mark's Gospel confront us at once. There is nothing about the Birth and Infancy of Jesus. What conclusion shall we draw from this fact? The argument from silence is notoriously precarious. The only just conclusion is that Mark used the material at hand that suited his purpose. He omits also the first year of the public ministry after the Baptism and Temptation, if we accept, as I do, John's Gospel as reliable history. We may suppose that Mark followed the general plan of Peter's discourses with chief emphasis on the Galilean ministry and Passion week which Peter employed in Caesarea (Acts 10:34-43). It is quite gratuitous to go on and say that "the narratives in Matthew and Luke are religious legends of no historical value" (Pfleiderer, *Christian Origins*, p. 83), because Mark is silent. Pfleiderer's judgment is its own standard in deciding between "history" and "legend" for, he says, "though there is no certain knowledge possible, yet it may be considered probable that Jesus was baptized by John." A man who can say that cannot complain if his opinion about the Virgin Birth is discounted. Mark simply has nothing to say on that subject and cannot be properly quoted as hostile to that view of Christ's birth.

Mark presents Jesus as "the Baptist's successor" (Swete). He is the "herald of the Kingdom, taking up the work of John" (Gould). This is true, but Mark does not make John the chief figure and Jesus the secondary follower. The attitude of John toward Jesus is distinctly that of the Forerunner whose whole mission was ab-

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sorbed in the work of the Messiah. "There cometh after me he that is mightier than I, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to stoop down and unloose" (Mark 1:7). John stood alone, but he pointed to the really great One whose very baptism will surpass that of John (1:8). It will not do, therefore, to say that in Mark the Messiahship of Jesus is a development and not claimed at the start as in John's Gospel. There is more truth in Maclean's idea (*Mark's Gospel*, *Hastings' Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*) that in Jerusalem the issue was joined at once between Christ and the Pharisees while in Galilee Jesus held the matter in abeyance as long as possible. But this is not to say that Jesus himself was at first unaware of the real nature of his person and mission or that the disciples did not at once take him as Messiah as John's Gospel represents them as doing. The disciples did not grasp the spiritual character of the Messianic kingdom, not till Pentecost came with the Spirit's illumination, for even after the Resurrection of Jesus they still clung to the Pharisaic conception of a political kingdom (Acts 1:6). Jesus did test the disciples concerning their knowledge of his person toward the close of the summer of withdrawal from Galilee (Mark 8:27 ff.), but it is probable that he wished to know now whether they still believed in him as the Messiah after all that they had seen and heard. Even then he charged them not to tell what Peter had so nobly said. Least of all is it proper to say that Mark's Gospel treats Jesus simply as a man who was carried away by the enthusiasm of the multitude and by his own excitement to make abnormal claims for himself at the close of his career. That is not the way the Second Gospel portrays Jesus. Gould does say in his discussion of "The Person and Principles of Jesus in Mark's Gospel" (*Commentary*, p. xxv): "We are coming now to the close of Jesus' ministry, and his method has not yet led him to any declaration of himself nor of his mission. It would almost seem as if he had no consciousness of a mission of any definite sort,

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so content has he been to let things merely happen, great as has been his use of these happenings." I do not so read Mark's Gospel.

Let us see. In the "head-line" (1:1) Jesus is termed the "Christ, the Son of God." John the Baptist foretold the coming One as near and as the expected Great One, though Mark does not say that he applied to him the word "Messiah" (1:2-8). But we must not be slaves of a word. The idea of the Messiah is in the context. At the baptism of Jesus (1:9-11) by the Baptist the Spirit descends on him as a dove and the Father addresses Jesus as "my beloved Son," and this act of baptism calls forth the approval of the Father. The Baptist hears God's voice salute Jesus as the Son of God. This language must mean the Messiah and presents the highest conception of that office. The doctrine of the Trinity is really here (Father, Son, Spirit). It will not do to say that Jesus was not yet conscious of his mission and of his peculiar relation to God. Thus at the very beginning of our earliest Gospel all the essential elements in the Person and Work of Christ confront us. His humanity is here and his deity is here. The Messianic consciousness of Jesus is inevitably involved. This great event made the Baptist certain that he had made no mistake in his identification of Jesus as the Messiah. There are no disciples of Jesus as yet.

Mark does not give the story of the Temptation of Jesus by Satan where the deity of Jesus is subtly challenged by the devil and where his humanity is strongly emphasized by the weakness of hunger. But the fact of the Temptation is given by Mark with a touch of loneliness added by the mention of "the wild beasts" as his companions and the comfort of the angels at the end (1:12 f.). Certainly in Matthew and Luke Jesus stands pitted against the prince of this world who at once perceives that he is dealing with the Son of God and Jesus is fully conscious of his own personality and of the vast issues at stake in the

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conflict. There is nothing in the Gospel of John that more thoroughly pictures the deity of Christ than the Temptation where his humanity is so powerfully attacked by Satan.

When the demons hail Jesus as "the Holy One of God" (1:24) Jesus makes no disclaimer, but commands silence, for such testimony will not help his cause. The restraint of Jesus in Galilee does not, therefore, mean doubt on his own part about his Messiahship or ignorance on the part of the early disciples, but only that for prudential reasons Jesus did not make such formal and public claims. The public in Galilee were too fanatical to permit it without precipitating a crisis. The intensity of the popular excitement is manifest in the early Galilean ministry. "They were all amazed" (Mark 1:27), "all the city was gathered together at the door" (1:33), "all are seeking thee" (1:37), "Jesus could no more openly enter into a city, but was without in desert places; and they came to him from every quarter" (1:45), to go no further. It is evident that everywhere people are hailing Jesus as the Messiah proclaimed by the Baptist, though Jesus avoids the use of the term.

The Pharisees from Jerusalem were quick to see the inevitable implication of the claims and works of Jesus. When Jesus said to the paralytic let down through the tile roof: "Son, thy sins are forgiven thee" (Mark 2:5), they were instant with the accusation in their hearts: "He blasphemeth: who can forgive sins but one, even God?" (2:7) In this tense atmosphere Jesus proceeds to heal the man to prove his power or authority to forgive sins and so his equality with God. "But that ye may know that the Son of man hath authority on earth to forgive sins (he saith to the sick of the palsy), I say unto thee, Arise, take up thy bed, and go into thy house" (2:10 f.). There is no possible misunderstanding the import of this language. The use of the phrase "the Son of man" instead of "Messiah" probably kept the popu-

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lace from clearly understanding the Messianic claim that Jesus made and robbed the Pharisees of a technical charge of blasphemy. But some of them probably knew that the phrase already had a Messianic sense in their apocalyptic writings and all of them knew that Jesus really claimed practical equality with God and, worst of all, defied them and proved his power by healing the paralytic to the amazement of the crowd who "glorified God, saying, We never saw it on this fashion" (2:12).

In the first two chapters, therefore, we meet the use of "Son of God" and "Son of man" which aptly depict the deity and the humanity of Jesus. Tremendous efforts have been made to empty them of any real meaning. But in Mark's Gospel "the Son of God" means more than just any man, since all men are sons of God in one sense. "Son of man" can be a translation of the Aramaic "*barnasha*," a man, any man, but that idea is puerile and jejune in most of the passages in the mouth of Jesus. Christ is not in 2:10 showing that "any man" has the power to forgive sins, but that *He* has that authority. We have in Mark no definition of the phrase "the Son of Man," but it is manifestly Messianic and representative. The reality of Christ's humanity is clearly stated by it, but a great deal more. He is, besides, the representative man of the race and the ideal man. By means of this term, of which Jesus is fond, he is able to lay claim to the Messiahship without using the word "Messiah" which would give instant offense to the rulers and which would at once arouse the passion of the people. How much the twelve apostles understood at first by the language of Jesus we are not told. But we must remember that they also heard him called "the Son of God" and, as John's Gospel shows, had special teaching from Jesus concerning his Messiahship.

Jesus early foresaw and foretold his death according to Mark's Gospel, for he spoke of the fasting after the death of the bridegroom (2:20). His claim to lordship

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of the Sabbath (2:27) probably astonished the disciples as much as it angered Christ's enemies. The unclean spirits had the habit of making the demoniacs fall down before Jesus, crying: "Thou art the Son of God" (3:11). Some impression was probably made on the minds of some by this undesirable testimony.

Mark does not hesitate to present the adverse opinions about Jesus. "His friends" (3:21) "went out to lay hold on him: for they said, He is beside himself." This was the charitable construction placed on Christ's conduct by his own "brothers" (3:31) when they heard the bitter accusation of the Pharisees from Jerusalem that Jesus was in league with the devil (3:22). Apparently for the moment even Mary, the Mother of Jesus, felt that the strain had been too great upon Jesus. She came with her sons, "calling him," to take him home. This dark scene is characteristic of Mark's method. He puts in the light and shadow of the actual life of Jesus, not because he is in doubt, but simply as an artist true to the life. Over against this depreciation of Jesus put the exceeding fear of the disciples in the boat: "Who then is this, that even the wind and the sea obey him?" (4:41) They had doubtless long before this taken Jesus as the Messiah, but they had no well-defined Christology apart from the Pharisaic environment. They were in confusion over the apparent contradiction between the sleeping and drowning Jesus and the Master of wind and wave. Soon the disciples see the wild man of the tombs run and fall down and worship Jesus as he screams: "What have I to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of the Most High God?" (5:7) Huxley's ridicule of the "Gadarene Pig Affair" in his debate with Gladstone has not disposed of the weird power of this scene. Peter seems to have been greatly moved by it, for Mark's narrative is wonderfully vivid and dramatic.

The contrasts in Christ's person in Mark's Gospel appear with great clearness in the sensitiveness of Christ

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to the loss of energy as power went out from him at the touch of his garment by the sick woman (5:30 f.), and in the tender mastery over death in the house of Jairus where in the presence of a small group Jesus restores the child to life. Mark has kept the very Aramaic words that Jesus used to the little girl, *Talitha cumi* (5:41). Peter never forgot them as for the first time he saw Jesus conqueror of death.

The picture of Jesus in the synagogue in Nazareth (6:1-6) reveals the limitations in the work of the Master. His old friends and neighbours look upon Jesus as a wonder since he sprang from the midst of them. He was to them still "the carpenter" and not the Messiah. They felt that there must be some mistake about his gifts and graces since they had discovered none of them while he was with them. Many another man has been a stumbling-block to his neighbours, for the prophet is not without honour save in his own country. The lack of faith limited the power of Jesus to work miracles. People differed in their interpretation of Jesus then as now; but all had to form some opinion about him. The third Galilean campaign attracted the attention of Herod Antipas, whose guilty fears made him think that Jesus was John the Baptist come to life again. Others thought that Jesus was Elijah or another of the prophets. Some felt that he was indeed the Messiah, as the Baptist had said. Mark shows his fidelity as an historian in letting us see that Jesus did not convince all that he was the Son of God, the Son of man. He seemed to the most only a wonderful man. There was no doubt of his humanity. His deity was evident enough for those who had eyes to see and ears to hear, but his deity was to be held in harmony with his humanity however little we may be able to explain the union. Mark does not undertake to explain; he states the facts as he got hold of them and lets the facts speak for themselves.

The disciples themselves were repeatedly puzzled by

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the conduct of Jesus. Mark shows this with sheer simplicity and *naïveté*. Jesus was weary with the apostles and sought rest, but rallied and taught the eager crowds. He revealed himself as Lord of nature as he multiplied the loaves and the fishes for the multitude (6:30-44), and then walked upon the water to the frightened disciples (6:45-52). Even more "they were sore amazed in themselves" as they tried to understand Jesus and his works. It was not a simple matter to comprehend Jesus Christ though these men saw him day by day. Their eyes "were holden" we read, holden by their preconceived ideas about the Messiah and by their own theological interpretations of Jesus.

The patience of Jesus was sorely tried by the slow progress of the disciples in grasping the real significance of his teaching about himself. They stumbled in simple matters like the use of leaven for teaching (8:15), but they did hold on to the great truth that Jesus claimed to be the Messiah (8:27-30), however imperfect their views of the Messiah were. This, at least, was something to be grateful for, and Jesus charged the apostles not to tell others as yet what they knew. The masses were fickle and volatile and would only take Jesus as a political Messiah in accord with Pharisaic theology as had already been made perfectly plain. Mark does not enlarge upon Peter's great confession as Matthew does, but shows that Peter was the spokesman on this important occasion. Perhaps Peter had not discoursed upon the words of Jesus to him at this eventful juncture. But Peter, for Mark has it (8:31-33), did tell of Christ's calling him "Satan" for his presumptuous advice. The mystery of Jesus appeared to grow as he discussed his own death after the staunch avowal of faith in his Messiahship and divine sonship. In his rebuke of Peter Jesus proceeded to set forth the true philosophy of life and death. This was applicable to the Son of man most of all as he faced his own Cross, and yet this "Son of man" was to come

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"in the glory of his Father with the holy angels" (8:38). He will come to judge those who are ashamed of him here and to bless those who confess him. This was no ordinary "Son of man" (*barnasha*) who was himself the test of every man's life and destiny, Saviour and Judge of all. It is "his Father's" glory, so that he is the Son of God, and yet he will judge mankind as "the Son of man" whose ideal he is. Mark is fully conscious that he is not presenting the portraiture of a mere Jewish Prophet or Galilean Teacher. He is the greatest of all teachers, the supreme prophet of the ages, the model for human life, the brother of the race. But he was far more than all this. Mark makes it evident that this "more" is what makes all the rest possible and offers hope to men.

The scene on the Mount of Transfiguration (9:2-13) reveals Jesus in his glory as he talks with Moses and Elijah, representatives of law and prophecy, not on a par with them, but as their superior. He is addressed by the Father's voice as "my beloved Son" while he alludes to himself in his talk with the three disciples as "the Son of man." Mark represents the death of Christ as the theme of the high converse with Moses and Elijah. Jesus had failed to make the disciples comprehend the import of his atoning death as they continued to fail in this supreme matter. To the disciples it was incongruous and incomprehensible that the Messiah should die. They had as yet no room for the suffering Messiah in their theology. They could see how he was prophet and king, but not how he was priest. And yet the priestly aspect of Christ's work is the chief thing as he conceived it. His sacrificial death was the real purpose of his earthly life. He came to give life to men, but this gift of life was made possible by his own death. With this spirit Christ approached his own death. He had to drink this cup and to receive the baptism of death (10:38). "For the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his

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life a ransom for many" (10:45). Jesus did not often allude to this deepest aspect of his work, for the disciples could not become reconciled to the fact of his death. They were poorly prepared as yet for the interpretation of that death. But it is significant that in Mark's Gospel the atonement finds a real place. Evidently it had this place in Peter's preaching (cf. Acts 2:38; 10:43) as in his Epistles (I Peter 1:18 f.). As Jesus went on to Jerusalem to meet his hour, he saw that his death was to be a "ransom for many." The papyri have this word (*lutron*) as the price paid for freeing a slave. So Jesus looked upon his death. When he instituted the supper after the last passover meal, he said: "This is my blood of the covenant, which is poured out for many" (14:24).

This view is no afterthought with Jesus, no last resort of a disappointed man who sought refuge in death after defeat in life. It is not the later theologizing of Peter or of Mark. It is Peter's recollection of the words of Jesus which Peter frankly confessed that he did not at the time understand. Nothing is more true to life in Mark's Gospel than his retention of the confession and dulness of the apostles concerning the teaching of Jesus about his personal work. The development in this Gospel, as in John's Gospel, is chiefly in the revelation of Jesus to these awakening men in the face of the growing hostility of his enemies. The atmospheric environment was all against the true perception of the nature of the Messiah whom they loved and adored. The mystery deepened as they entered further with Christ into the shadow of the Cross. Their hearts beat back and forth as they shared the shifting scenes of the closing days. The Triumphal Entry was a public proclamation of the Messiahship of Jesus. The Jerusalem authorities so interpreted it. And Jesus meant them to so understand it. The people hailed Jesus with utter joy as "he that cometh in the name of the Lord" (11:9). And yet Jesus knew that he was not the political Messiah that they took him to be, knew also that

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to let it pass that way would give his enemies the charge against him that they wished. From the standpoint of the Sanhedrin he was a blasphemer for claiming to be the Messiah. From the standpoint of Rome he could be charged with high treason in setting himself up as a rival king to Caesar. Jesus foresaw all this and yet made his defiance on purpose. Thus he would force the hand of his enemies and bring matters to a crisis and reveal their guilt, and so he would meet his hour as the Lamb of God offered on the Cross for human sin. The sinlessness of Christ is taught in Mark and the voluntariness of his death. The dignity of the great Tragedy is here. Jesus is Master of the Temple and orders the money-changers out (11:15). In the parable of the husbandman and the vineyard Jesus shows that he is the King's Son to the dismay of his enemies. He applies to himself the words of the Psalmist (118:22 f.) that the stone which the builders rejected is become the head of the corner (Mark 12:10). He shows that David's son is also David's Lord with clear implication concerning his own humanity and deity as the Messiah (12:35-37), to the anger of the rulers and the joy of the common people.

In the eschatological discourse (chap. 13), the so-called "Little Apocalypse," in the very verse (32) wherein he admits his ignorance of the time of his second coming and of the world's judgment, he affirms his peculiar sonship ("the Son," "the Father") as in John's Gospel. Almost in the hour of his death he asserts his lordship and victory over all his foes in the end. "And then shall they see the Son of man coming in clouds with great power and glory" (13:26). He never seems more completely master of his own destiny than when he is the victim of human hate. He is Lord of the world that crucifies him. He is adjudged guilty of blasphemy and of treason, though free from all sin, and will some day come as Judge of his judges and of all men. Jesus is conscious that he is laying down his life for the world's sin, but he by no means holds

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those guiltless who compass his death. "For the Son of man goeth, even as it is written of him; but woe unto that man through whom the Son of man is betrayed! good were it for that man if he had not been born" (14:21). "The hour is come; behold, the Son of man is betrayed into the hand of sinners" (14:41).

In the hour of weakness in the Garden of Gethsemane, when the soul of Jesus shrank from the cup of woe, he yet was fully conscious that he was God's Son and began his heart-rending plea and absolute submission to the Father's will with the tender words "Abba, Father" (14:36), blending the Aramaic of his childhood and the Greek, as Paul in Romans 8:15; Gal. 4:6.

In the trial before Caiaphas and the Sanhedrin Jesus on oath confesses that he is "the Christ, the Son of the Blessed" (14:61), when he knew that this confession meant his death. But Jesus would not renounce his true personality to save his mortal life. In this very moment Jesus claims also to be "the Son of man" whom Caiaphas and his other judges will one day see "sitting at the right hand of Power," as King by the side of the Father on the Throne, "and coming with the clouds of heaven" (14:62). This defiance of Caiaphas was ample proof to him of blasphemy. But it shows beyond controversy that Mark gives us the high conception of the Person of Christ.

The claims of Jesus were flung in his teeth as he hung on the Cross. His enemies defied "the Christ, the King of Israel" to come down from the Cross (15:32). In mockery they unconsciously stated the great truth about his whole work: "He saved others; himself he cannot save" (15:31).

In the cry of agony, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" we seem to see the surprise of Jesus that his Father should allow him to walk this path alone even to pay the debt of the sin of the race and to make redemption possible. But his very death impressed a

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Roman centurion that he was surely God's Son (15:39). The death of Jesus was no swoon, but actual death, and the disciples were all in despair in this hour of gloom.

The closing verses of our Mark (16:9-20) are not found in the oldest documents. We cannot, therefore, appeal to them with confidence in proof of the Resurrection of Jesus. But in Mark 16:1-8 the fact of the Resurrection is made plain. The women find the tomb empty but a young man in a white robe proclaims that Jesus is risen from the dead and has sent a special message to "his disciples and Peter" (16:7). The Gospel closes with Peter reinstated in Christ's confidence and with Jesus as the Risen Lord who will carry on and carry out his great programme for the world's redemption.

It is true that in Mark's Gospel we possess a mere sketch of the life and work, person and principles of Jesus. And yet it is also true that in this sketch we have the main features of the Christ of Matthew, Luke and John. "These and similar sayings contain an almost complete outline of Christian soteriology and eschatology, and assert the principles of the new life which the Lord taught and exemplified and which His Spirit was to produce in the life of the future Church" (Swete, *Commentary*, p. LXXXIX).

The marvel of it all is the fact that it is done in such short compass, with such clarity, with such vividness (almost vivacity), and with such power. The stamp of reality is in this story. To be sure, the supernatural is here and Jesus is offered to us as a supernatural Person without apology. But the day is gone when the Gospels can be refused a hearing because of the presence of the supernatural in them. If God exists, it is unhistorical and unscientific to ignore him. The Christ of Mark is the Christ of the believer in all the ages. He asks that his power over the life be put to the test of experience before one decides that he is not the Son of God.

Progress in Religion¹

BY T. R. GLOVER,

University Lecturer in Ancient History, Cambridge.

The Founder of the Wilde Lectureship in Natural and Comparative Religion expressed his preference for the study of the religions of the higher culture, and it is not difficult to find reasons for his directing the attention of his lecturers to these religions. Fascinating as the course of research has been among the religious ideas of primitive peoples—and those, who caught the gleam of the *Golden Bough* a quarter of a century since, will not readily forget its appeal—still we are not all savages, and the history of Religion includes many peoples who are not at all primitive. The time comes now and then when it is less urgent to ask *how* religion began than *why* it continues and what changes it has undergone. In some quarters, one guesses, the view has prevailed that, if the origins are lowly, the developed product is discredited—that if religion began in the grossest superstition or in close connexion with it, and was for long almost indistinguishable from magic, so much the worse for religion. There has been an air of polemic about the work of certain researchers, which at least suggests this line of reflexion. But another line seems equally possible. If, in spite of these unhappy early associations, religion has maintained itself in the respect of the peoples of the highest cultures—if with every advance in thought, in powers of seeing and feeling, in social culture and in morals, religion has kept pace—then it is at least arguable that religion is not a

¹Wilde Lectures, No. 1, Introduction, Oxford.

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regrettable survival from a bad past, a weakness of the feebleness of the race—an accident at best—but something inseparable from the rational life of man, something as inherent in human nature and as essential to it as art or morality or any other expression and means of human life. This is arguable, at least. In any case if the study of origins is a legitimate subject for the human mind, surely the study of what is developed from those origins needs no defence. All our educationists emphasize the value of child-study: can we suggest that grown people are *not* a proper study of mankind? In any case, the Founder of this Lectureship suggested the study of the religions of the higher culture—and, without beating about the bush, I am more interested in them myself; I have studied them, and, with or without the stimulus or necessity laid upon me by the call to prepare these lectures, I was studying them and proposed to continue to study them. So, with no more apology, I turn to my subject—Progress in Religion.

In Cambridge—it is our reproach—we are perhaps a little more matter-of-fact than you at Oxford, a little more apt to confine ourselves to verifying our references and to recording what we find. I will not defend our habit of mind; it is so obviously useful. But in these lectures my object is something different. I am not aiming at an epitome of the history of religion from Moses to Mrs. Eddy. I am rather pursuing what one of the keenest guides of my undergraduate youth somewhat truculently called “the spirit of History emancipated from the bonds of fact.” I hope not to part company with fact, but I do not want to be in bondage to it; it is the wood that I wish to understand, not to count the trees. I have been trying to get hold of the factors that make for progress in men’s religious ideas—to understand why mankind as a whole is always apt to be revising its religion and cannot let it alone. I also want to master the factors that make for retardation in this progress; and perhaps in my

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second course of lectures I may have more to say on that subject. This Spring I turn to the peoples of the ancient Mediterranean world—the peoples, who, since I first learnt to read, have been my chief study, to whom I am not at all ashamed to have given my life so far—and I propose to draw from them the main part of what I have to say on progress in religion. This seemed wiser—and to a Cambridge man it seemed safer—than to range over a wider and less familiar field. One exception I have allowed myself. It fell to my lot to spend the second year of the war in India—a chance I could not have expected; and from what I saw for myself, from what I read, from what I learnt in conversation with all sorts of men all over the country—it is clear to me that here is a great progressive movement going on under our very eyes—one of the most deeply moving, the most tragic and the most wonderful changes of these generations, to be seen and studied in the actual by those who will. I purpose then in my second lecture to sweep away from the Mediterranean world, and to study—with a great sense of my limitations—the factors which actually are making for progress in religion in India. That I shall escape error in fact or in judgment, would be much to hope; but I can promise care and sympathy. After that, will follow a discussion of the precursors of those Greeks and Hebrews and others who are to give us the greater part of our evidence in the rest of the course.

The comparative study of religion began a long time ago. Xenophanes, as we shall see in a later lecture, noted the divergencies of men's conceptions of the gods. Herodotus marked coincidences and shrewdly suspected certain religious teachers, whose names he would not mention, of plagiarizing their inspiration from Egypt. Justin and Tertullian in the second century of our era remarked similarities between the rites of the Christian Church and the heathens. "This too," says Justin, "in the rites of Mithras, the evil demons have delivered to be

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done—in imitation. That bread and a cup of water are set forth in the initiation ceremonies, with certain formulae—you know or may learn.”² “The devil,” says Tertullian, “baptizes. He promises remission of sins from his font. If I yet remember, Mithras seals his soldiers on the brow”;³ and so forth. The current explanation has generally been borrowing. The devil and his demons got early word of what Christian rites would be—and borrowed. Or else the Christians, remembering their old ways in religion, borrowed on their side. The explanation of Justin and Tertullian seems a little old and odd; the fashion to-day is to find analogies between Christian practice and the mystery religions, and a little to discredit the Christian in consequence.

The weakness of this line of comparative study seems to me to be that it is—to speak popularly—static and not dynamic. The thermometer at 2 p.m. on Tuesday and on Wednesday may stand at exactly the same point, but if on Tuesday it is falling and on Wednesday rising, the days will not be the least alike—no, nor the hour between 1.30 and 2.30 either. Likeness in rite and ceremony, in phrase and even in ideas, there may be; and it may be of singularly little consequence. The questions to be asked are of the movement, the direction, the guiding spirit, the purpose, the aspiration. Two sacraments may be closely alike—to the distant student—at a particular point of time; and their influence on human history unspeakably different. We have always to bear in mind that there is a stage beyond, and that what matters most in the study of a religion is what bears most upon the stage not yet reached. The key is in the last stage, the highest development. Our task is not to predict the last stage, but to examine certain stages and to discover if we can the disturbing forces, the factors that have from time to time made the future, that have driven men forward in spite of themselves.

²Justin, *Apoc.* I. 98C.

³Tertullian, *De praescr. haeret.* 40.

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Let us begin by a broad contrast of what have been and what are the commonly accepted conceptions of religion. At the dawn of History, and for very long after, men conceived of religion as a matter of practices—certain things were done, and done in certain ways; the way mattered, and the action mattered, not the spirit, nor the belief that went with it. To-day, on the contrary, we conceive of religion as being above all things belief—as faith; and ritual and ceremony, however desirable, however necessary some of us hold them, are admittedly only of value as expressions of real belief, of faith. Religion has changed then, from being predominantly an external thing to being the most intensely inward and intimate of all things, a law, an intuition within. It *was* a traditional thing—inherited, unexamined, independent of reason, unconnected with moral judgment or moral conduct; but it *is* individual conviction, and even where tradition is given the utmost value, it is as a result of criticism and thought, and these are individual; religion without reason is inconceivable to us, and we hold its relation to morality to be vital. It *was*, again and again, racial or local; it *is*, and long has been, even in pre-Christian times and non-Jewish circles, universal, independent of race or place. It *was* a system of polytheism with all the inherent disorder that polytheism involves; its gods were at best doubtfully personal, or if personal, arbitrary, non-moral, and irrational. To-day, Religion is primarily monotheistic, or, at the worst, monistic; and where it really lives, its God is personal, and justice and goodness are the first of His characteristics.

These contrasts are patent, and certain consequences follow. We obviously give a higher value to-day to personality—in the abstract; to the individual—in the concrete; and religion gains or suffers correspondingly. The strength of the old religions lay in the fact that they were national, and that is the weakness of Hinduism to-day. One might, on the other hand, say that the strength of

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the modern type of religion is that it is *not* national, it is at once more and less than national. It is above nationality; and in every case of a really living nation and a really vital religion, masses of the nation reject, or misunderstand, or neglect religion; those who are convinced are religious with an intensity unknown in the old days, while the rest make less and less pretence of religion. We cannot have it both ways. The savage emphasized the tribe and had a social religion; the Greek discovered the individual, and we have to put up with the consequences.

Certain things, however, stand out from our contrasts. First, this emphasis on personality; and it affects all our thought of God and man; and next a progressive attention to morality, which goes with the discovery of the individual, and involves changes as fundamental in religion. To these two points we shall have to return again and again.

At this stage, certain observations have to be made on the general subject of the study of religious movements, historical, primitive, and pre-historical.

1. First of all, as Andrew Lang emphasized, man is not to be caught in a primitive state; his intellectual beginnings lie very far behind the stage of culture in which we find the lowest known races.⁴ We are in a worse plight by far than the geologists in their worst difficulties. The ichthyosaurus had his day, and lay down and died; and nobody took the slightest interest in him till Miss Anning dug up the first discovered of his tribe at Lyme Regis a hundred years ago. Nobody was concerned through the centuries to explain that he was still an ichthyosaurus, *semper eadem* as it were, or that he never had been an ichthyosaurus at all. If another beast or bird died on top of him—or under him—and their bones got mixed, they were not so very hard to sort out; and I suppose that what applies to the beasts is true broadly of the rocks, in spite of faults, and the sea and the volcanoes.

⁴A. Lang, *Making of Religion*, p. 39.

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It is very different with the anthropologist's evidence. His fossils are graves and offering-pits and sculptures—for inscriptions are as bad as books; and he has to explain his fossils by their living representatives, which are worse again than books and inscriptions. Religion, in particular, in its earlier history and for long after, is to be studied in survivals—in myths and usages and beliefs. But words change their meaning without giving those who use them any notice—change them to fit new outlooks on the world, and in turn affect the beliefs expressed in the words. Rites and usages are corrected to fit a theory of a day—that is to say, they are restored, and we know well how often restoration means complete change. Silent adjustments, small misconceptions, shame, apology—all confuse the evidence. As Professor Lewis Campbell wittily asked, how far do the practices of the Scots on Hallowe'en or Hogmanay illustrate or explain Scots religion? They obviously had some origin; but it is History that will give the clue to it, and History, as we shall soon find, is a much more intelligent witness than Archaeology—arrives later on the scene and *thinks*; and that always confuses the evidence.

Words do not very greatly help us; and here I want to add my feeling that of words the most treacherous are definitions, and the abstract nouns associated with them. I am constantly impressed with the havoc that our facile definitions, our preconceptions, and our abstract nouns make of our thinking; and one large part of every student's work is to achieve independence of the definitions and technical terms of his teacher. A classification does not necessarily advance knowledge—forgive this obvious remark! but I find in King George's reign that what I *knew* in Queen Victoria's reign, I *know* no longer—have no glimmering of things I once knew to satisfaction. In every field of study I find the same thing—we do not add to our facts by framing theories, even when our theories are definitions. I shall have to speak a little later on of

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Magic, and I have already burnt my fingers over it and fallen out with my friends. And the definition of Religion is hardly easier. I am not at all convinced that primitive man was stricter about his definitions than his descendants are. I am quite sure that he did not draw all the inferences he might have, and should have, from what he knew. At the same time, it is not safe to assume that primitive man was as simple and unreflective a creature as is sometimes half-suggested. In Pre-History—before what we can call History began—how soon did man begin to think, to imagine, to be an individual? From that date confusion began. His words meant one thing to himself, another to his stupider son, and something quite different again to his bright son. His spiritual experience—the emotions he felt, the laws he observed—may well have been simpler than the inner history of his descendants, just as the colour vision of the savage fails to distinguish shades and even colours in vivid contrast for civilized man. But he was no fool; and his drawings and his skill in hunting, with all the observation and the reflexion these imply, suggest that we should rate him rather by his progressive descendants than by the retarded or the reactionary. My point is, that it is extremely hard to be sure what primitive man meant and how much he expressed of what he meant, what were the extra-values of his thoughts and so forth, and that neither our evidence nor our definitions take us very far.

2. My second observation extends to History what has been suggested as to Pre-History. It is extremely difficult, even where we are dealing with a race that keeps records and statistics, to get at the history of a religious movement in its early stages and in its formative period;—still harder to re-capture the impulses, the instincts, and intuitions that lie behind it. When we deal with the causes, it is generally the conditions that we mean; and the same conditions produce no effect whatever on minds

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which seem to us quite as good as those in which the movement began.

Contemporaries constantly miss what matters most and their words reflect their failure. When they do notice movement, they are surprisingly apt to misunderstand it—to put down as irreligion what is in truth the awakening of reason, the stirring of moral feeling.

I take two instances, both illustrative of our general subject. Let us compare England in 1520, 1620, and 1720, we find extraordinary changes. In 1720, Mr. Lecky estimates, the Catholics were one in fifty of the population. In 1620 whatever the figures, everything was ripe for civil war on a religious issue underlying a political issue. In 1520 to all appearances, England was solidly catholic. The late Dr. James Gairdner's book on *Lollardy and the Reformation* is a monument of the perplexity that the study of mere records may produce. To his reader it seems that there was nothing to effect the vast change which we observe; or else that Dr. Gairdner missed exactly what was most important to discover. For the change was swift, drastic, dramatic; and an explosion rarely occurs where there are no explosives. England must have been charged with forces which escaped the record-keepers and the record-searchers. Or, again, what were the antecedents of the monotheism of the Hebrew prophets? Here history, it would appear, has been re-written, more than once, by the ancients themselves, but when the best endeavour has been made to reach the real state of things in Israel before the rise of the great prophets, we find a people admittedly *not* monotheistic either by instinct or reflexion. Yet the prophetic movement did capture Israel, and it had some antecedents—unless here, as in Dr. Gairdner's England, History makes the leap that Nature refuses. And that I do not believe.

In my next lecture, when I speak of India, the same sort of question will rise.

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Finally, on this point, how difficult it would be to write the history of Sin and Redemption in human thought! How vital these conceptions are for the history of religion!—and how difficult to trace their development without big gaps and great guesses! Here above all, the history of a single word would give us all the problems we could solve. The term “holy,” if we could trace it through all its successive suggestions, would be a tell-tale word, as it moved from the physical and all but irrational onward through the moral to the spiritual. Probably most of our tell-tale words would be ethical terms, for even “truth” is as essentially ethical as intellectual.

3. In the third place we must observe that Progress in Religion is apt to coincide with progress in social life, in arts and crafts, in political life, and in philosophy. We talk of men “thinking in compartments,” and there are those who so think; but mankind never really rests content with that habit. The mind once quickened ranges in a new way over every aspect of life. Religious awakening means political regeneration, as we see in seventeenth century England. Political stimulus makes for individual self-consciousness, and that turns toward religion. Crafts develop into arts; and artists see things intensely, and rightly or wrongly think swiftly—seldom entirely wrongly; and whatever meaning they give to the word “religion,” their contribution to the range of the human spirit requires of religion that it too enlarge its borders. “Whatever widens the imagination,” wrote Lecky, “enabling it to realize the actual experience of other men, is a powerful agent of ethical advance.”⁵

Life is the great iconoclast, the great emancipator. Life has a tendency to outgrow Religion in complexity, and the question in every generation is whether Religion will wake up to the new problems and overtake life. Mankind, as it grows adult, will not have old religions; old forms it may keep but it re-interprets them. Where

⁵*History of Morals*, vol. i.

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re-interpretation fails, and the old forms are not shaken off, a race or people atrophies; for man is progressive or he is lost; and the question often arises, What will liberate a race from its religion? In Israel and in Greece that question rose, and answers drastic enough (as we shall see) were offered by Plato and Jeremiah. Contemporaries, no doubt, thought them the enemies of religion; and moderns, whose definitions require them to distinguish between religion and knowledge, may be driven to comments as superficial. Yet these two men had no idea but that they were working with religion, reaching the heart of it; and ever since their day those who have deeply cared for religion and felt its power have recognized the deep debt they owe to such men.

We have not to forget, however, cases that look exceptional; and here Rome is the outstanding example. Roman religion never kept pace with the Roman mind, one is tempted to say. This is partly true, and Rome paid terribly for it. But it is not all the truth, for the Roman looked elsewhere than to the etiolated gods of his ancestors for real religion—to Greece, to Phrygia and to Egypt.

4. Plato and Jeremiah bring us to our fourth observation—the immense rôle of the individual in the Progress of Religion. One feature, as we saw, in this Progress is the heightened significance of the individual; and that discovery is made by the individual. All progress in craft and art is the individual's doing; the guild and the caste are against him at first, perhaps forever. Justice is rarely done to the pioneer on any side of life, either while he lives or after. The significance of the Jews and of the Greeks in the history of Religion is after all due to the intensity of individuality in their prophets and thinkers. In India—and it is true in measure elsewhere—it is in the sects that the living forces of religion are felt, that the great movements begin; and the sects are produced by the individual minds, and are far more de-

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pendent on them than the main body is or need be. The real life of Islam is Sufi-ism: the real life of Hinduism is in the Bhakti sects; they revolt, they influence the great mass of opinion slowly, and the dead hand at last gets hold of them, and they too grow petrified, but a contribution has been made. It is much the same elsewhere. The rebel starts the new idea and forces it on the community. One could hardly expect a great organization to leap with swift intuition at a new truth, any more than a committee to write English. The great Classics in every language are written by individuals; even the Authorized Version of the English Bible has Tyndale behind it. The feeling, that slowly or swiftly brings the new certainty, is the individual's endowment. The great organization stands for authority, for a decent consideration of what our fathers found of truth; if it demands more, there are rebels; and Progress in Religion again and again has depended on the rebels making good their point, and on the old organization appropriating it when made. Great statesmen and great journalists think in millions, and their generalizations very often screen life from them. The prophet and the poet have fewer formulae, fewer phrases, few dogmas; they are less in bondage to routine and conventions and interests; they come from the desert, the slum, the slave market, and the house of pain, where solitude and beauty, hunger, oppression and sheer misery, set them free from conventions and goad them into discovery of the real and the spiritual. If they are canonized afterwards, it is, as the biographer of Francis says, "the bitterest irony in history."

Summing up what we have so far gathered, we shall agree to handle our evidence carefully, to expect gaps in our knowledge of origins, to look for progress in religion where the activities of man's mind crowd thickest and most distractingly, and to keep our eyes upon solitary figures, to watch for the "voice crying in the wilderness," the poet in exile, the unpopular teacher in agony and

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bloody sweat. And as we gather our evidence, and co-ordinate it, and begin to understand it, we shall ask questions about one religion and another, to learn their comparative value. Our standard will be the standard of Progress. What we learn, will modify our conceptions of Progress, no doubt, and will give it more content. One question will suggest another, and they will all be related. All our questions will, in one form or another, bear on the fundamental issue of the relations of Religion and Truth. But for clearness we will put separate aspects of that issue separately, and here are some of the questions we shall ask.

We shall ask pre-eminently about any religion a number of questions as to its philosophy. That perhaps is not the prevalent fashion of to-day, but men have always intellectualized their religion—inevitably, for man is incurably intellectual. The progress in religion has been made at every stage by the thinkers more than by the mystics, and incomparably more by both than by the adherents of the cults. The great saints have been markedly the thinkers. That, I think, is true of all the religions, certainly of Christianity. Man is always working at the unseen, to get it reduced to intelligible law and order, to make it more moral, more spiritual, more rational—to fit it more to his mind, to adjust his thought in turn to the unseen, to get a working unity in his experience and his conceptions. There never is such a thing as simple faith; it is always intellectual; and the simplest faith is that for which thought has cleared the issues and got them into order and perspective.

We shall ask, then, what a religion makes of man. Does it believe in him enough? This is the individual again. Is it abreast of the best instincts of man, his deepest intuitions? (Some religions, as we shall see, are conspicuously behind these). Is it developing these instincts still further? Does it urge man to look beyond the grave, whither certain instincts point? Is man “a

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dream of a shadow," as Pindar said, or a "heavenly plant," as Plato preferred? Man's instincts involve morality too. How wide, then, is the religion's range in morality? What does it make of sin, of evil generally? What does it say of pain and suffering? All these questions imply the individual from the start; we are taking our cue from the higher developments of Religion, and we can hardly help doing so. But sin and morality imply also the community, and one function of religion is to induce the individual to sacrifice his own interests, his fancies and feelings—yes! and his own rights, to his neighbours and to the community. Does the religion, then, whichever we are considering, comprise the community, and how wide is that community? Are women reckoned in, and slaves, and foreigners?

We shall ask, what a religion makes of God, whether it speaks of Him in the singular or the plural, the neuter or the abstract. And here we shall find that progress more and more depends on the personality of God—that this militates against polytheism and safeguards the personality of man and all the morality bound up with the society of men. Personality and morality will be somewhere involved in all the questions we ask. St. Paul, in a very remarkable passage, with great insight traces all the corruption and misery of the world to false views of God. God's personality and man's personality are going to stand or fall together. Does the religion claim enough of God for man; does it claim the utmost, including immortality?

We shall ask—for our conception of society and of religion is dynamic rather than static—how far each religion is adapted to meeting changes in society, knowledge and thought. Another philosophical question; for the answer depends on how far the tenets of the religion are avowedly related to experience, how close it is intended to keep to truth. Does it prefer Truth—or something else, authority or tradition, emotion, archaism, an easy

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mind, or ecstasy? And our question implies yet another on its attitude to freedom. Does it stand for "more beyond" or for a closed book—for a Holy Spirit, or for a Koran or Shastras? Is it, in fact, in day-by-day experience, moving forward to higher intuitions and their verification? Is it attentive or inattentive to art, to poetry, to science, to politics, to ideas generally and the ceaselessly moving life of man? Or is it afraid of them? Once again, we shall have to ask, what it makes of God. Is God away behind somewhere, or in front? Is He in touch with what men are doing? Finality, it has been said, is the only heresy.

Following up this question, we shall ask at some point, is the religion universal? Does it carry any conception it has of the unity of nature and the unity of mankind to the corollary of propagandism? This is no mean test of a religion; it involves the sense of truth, the sense of the relevance of truth to mankind, and mankind's turn for truth—the unity of mankind, and monotheism itself and the Personality of God.

Some such series of questions seems inevitable, and when we have put them and have begun to get our answers into a sort of order, what follows? For my part I find a certain progress in the religions, certain stages, which, however uncertain their edges, are themselves distinct and clear. This is not out of the way. However many "missing links" we may eventually discover, upwards or downwards from the Piltdown and Neanderthal people, Homer and the Chimpanzee have nothing to do with each other. It is obvious at a glance that, a religion (in one sense) being a system of thought, it may very well be imperfectly thought-out; and in fact we may often find in the same mind religious ideas which do not cohere, which do not belong to one another and never will. Nor is it only on the lower spiritual level that we find this. St. Paul was able to hold incompatible ideas; at least he held, or thought he held, ideas which we realize to have

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been incompatible; but perhaps the explanation may lie in a distinction between ideas he held and ideas of which, as he says, he was apprehended. I find, then, three great stages in religious thought, and I find further that, distinct as they are, certain historical religious systems have shown and do show traces of more than one, sometimes of all three. I distinguish three great types of Magic, Morality and Grace.

First as to Magic. As I said before, we touch here a term very difficult to define. M. Reinach says simply that "every primitive ritual is in its origin magical";⁶ but then his definition of religion is perhaps even simpler—religion is "a collection of scruples which impede the free exercise of our faculties."⁷ I do not think things are quite so simple. Scholars differ a good deal as to their definition of Magic. It has been called a "disease of religion," but this is not clear; it seems to imply that religion precedes magic, and that magic is a depravation of it. Sometimes religion does seem to lapse into magic—and there magic will indeed be a depravation of religion. Historically, in another sense of the word *magic*, there is ground for finding magic an ancestor of science, of political and social morality, and certainly of medicine. All these, and religion too, are again and again found in association with what we must call magic—cannot call anything else. But there is a difference, and some thinkers find it in the attitude of the man who uses the means. If his main idea is to impose his will on god or spirit or demon, then his action is considered to lean to magic. If his idea is to influence god or spirit or demon, and, failing this endeavour, then to submit—that is held to lean to religion.

I am not going to risk a definition of magic myself, but I am bound to try to indicate what I mean by a magical type of religion. The dominant mark of magic I take

⁶*Revue des Etudes Grec.* 1906, p. 344.

⁷*Orpheus*, p. 4.

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to be outclassed thinking, arrested intuition, unexamined and unexaminable. Here I am glad to have the support of Sir J. G. Frazer who regards magic as simply due to a misapplication of the laws of the association of ideas. Mr. Marrett says this is too intellectualistic, and that magic must be studied on its emotional side.⁸ No doubt unchecked, unexamined, emotion has a great deal to do with magic as with all sorts of arrested developments. Arrest seems to me the mark of magic; it is commonly sterile, it means no progress; it is an antithesis to progress. I should say on the other hand that self-criticism is a mark of religion and one of the fruitfulness of its characteristics. Magic rests at last on fancy and is inspired by fear—by fear that paralyses thought and is never transcended. Magic leaves men pre-eminently *afraid* of the gods—too afraid of them to try to understand them. As Professor Gwatkin wrote, "As long as magic is stronger than science, the gods must be supposed variable and weak of will."⁹ Magic, again, does not allow enough dignity and value to the human mind, does not credit it with reason, unless on reason's very lowest plane; it condemns man to the performance of dodges and bans the exercise of thought.

I am perhaps using—like others—the word magic in a sense of my own; but my purpose is not to define magic but to explain what I mean when I say that Religion has had a magical stage, that there have been and are religions of a magical type. Whether modern anthropologists approve or not, I am at least erring with Plato, who, in the second book of the *Republic*, draws the distinction which I am trying to make. Indeed, I believe I got it from Plato, and his strong words in that book bring me naturally to the second type of religion which I have named.

Plato insists that religion is not the indulgence in rites and sacrifices, with an element of jollification in them,

⁸R. R. Marrett, *Threshold*, p. 29.

⁹*Gifford Lectures*, vol. i. p. 260.

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but no discernible moral purpose or moral effect, no relation to conduct or to principle. "Adorn the soul," he says, "in her proper jewels—temperance, justice, courage and nobility and truth. In these arrayed, the soul is ready to go on her journey to the world below, when her time comes." It will be seen in an instant that this is a religion of another type altogether; it has no relation to feast or hecatomb, to libation or sacrament. The adornment of the *soul* is the thing, not the performance of any rite or the securing of any charm; there is nothing physical or external about this type of religion. The ethical virtues get all the emphasis—and they all have a strong intellectual element; especially, we may say, Truth, the very last thing that has even the slightest relation with magic, however we define it. Much the same attitude was maintained by the greater prophets of Israel toward the religion of sacrifice—it had no relation to righteousness and therefore could be of no interest to Jehovah. In emphasizing the reference to a personal god, they struck a very different note from Plato's: but with him they represent that type of religion, of which the essence is morality.

The religions of the third type are the most interesting, and for Western thinkers St. Paul is the outstanding example. He devoted himself to religion of the second type and gave himself in earnest to the achievement of morality; but as his insight deepened, he realized that he was engaged upon an impossible task; he made a great change and became content "not to have his own righteousness," to accept rather than earn, and to live a life dependent upon Grace. Though he is the outstanding instance of this type, and became normative for Christianity, the type is not only found in Christian thought. As I understand it, all the school of thought in India which emphasize *Bhakti*, belong in degree to this class, the *anhangs* of Tuka Ram, the Maratha poet of the seventeenth century—I only know them in English, but

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the verse renderings of some of them, if surreptitiously printed with Cowper's versions of Mme. Guyon, might pass without remark. The "Cat-Theology" of the Tengalai followers of Ramanuja in contrast with the "Monkey-Theology" of their rivals seems to be of the same type. The cat herself carries her kitten; the baby monkey has to hold on underneath its mother as she leaps about; which is the picture of the soul's relation with God? Those who decide for the cat stand for something very like divine grace. Distinctions spring up when we ask from what and for what the divine grace saves, and we realize that Tuka Ram and Mme. Guyon have very different hopes. Mme. Guyon looks for salvation from sin, Tuka from re-birth. I surmise that the Shinshu sect in Japanese Buddhism shows some affinity with this type of religion.

It will be obvious that this third type may easily show traits of the first type. It will depend upon the character of God and upon the estimate He is supposed to form of the human mind.

But now to reach a conclusion. My thesis is that a progress is to be observed in men's conception of Religion. We shall look to find it in the development of their sense of the value of the individual man, both as an agent and as a passive member of society, in virtue of his personality; and in connexion with this, we shall find a progress in men's ideas of conduct both as regards the individual and society; their conduct will depend on their estimate of personality and that, as already suggested, on their sense of personality in their God. All His relations with men will be interpreted in the light of His personality and its inevitable relation to the personalities of men: they will be felt to be entitled to ask more of Him, and He will be thought likely to do more for them. But the impulse to conceive in this way of the relations of God and man, we shall find, came partly along the lines of men's experience of common life, and their slow discovery of the value and

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beauty of moral law, partly along the lines of reflection upon God. We shall find a steady drive to a morality that is ever higher, and a drive, as steady, toward monotheism, while religion ever claims more and more of life. We shall find that the soul refuses to be satisfied on any level but the very highest, and that, as a German thinker has said, "man is for nothing so grateful as for the advancement of his spiritual life." We shall find that man has a firm belief that nothing but the truth will help him, and an undying faith that he will find truth or that it will be revealed to him.

Christ the Revelation of God

BY H. TH. OBBINK,

Professor at the University of Utrecht.

In order to treat this subject adequately we need to define carefully the sense in which the word "revelation" is used. In speaking of revelation we first give expression to the conviction that our Christian belief is not a product of the human mind, that it is not born of imagination or fancy, is not the result of reflection, not merely a *psychical* phenomenon. Many scholars say that it is this. They assert that the origin of *all* religion is to be sought in the human mind and in the human mind alone. Religion, they say, arose out of natural causes wherever men dwell in the world. As to these causes scholars differ greatly, some laying stress on the terrible and uncanny forces of nature by which man is held in awe because he neither knows nor controls them; therefore he feels his dependence on them, considers them with respectful fear, and taking them for animated beings, he endeavours to influence them by prayer, offerings and magical practices in order to win their favour. Others speak of the fear of demons and the spirits of the dead as being the root from which human religion has sprung, etc. All these students agree that the more human knowledge widens, the more the forces of nature will come to be known as merely "laws" of nature, and the more religion will be limited, just as the territory of the red people becomes smaller in proportion to the extension of civilization. At the moment when human knowledge shall embrace heaven and earth, there will no longer be a place for religion, i.e., a

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mystical view of things not understood; the whole universe is conceived as ruled by natural laws.

Since, according to this view, religion is the result of the undeveloped mind, it is urged that it is quite natural that religious presentations and ideas should differ according to climate, culture, natural genius and disposition of the various peoples and races. Each people and race makes its own God, its own paradise and hell, its own religion, according to its needs. Christendom too has all the traits that characterize it as a mere psychical phenomenon. It corresponds to the needs of the peoples it embraces, it adapts itself to the peculiarities of the races it reaches; the Teutonic races are in the main Protestant, the Latin peoples Roman-Catholic, the Slavonic peoples Greek Catholic. Thus, Christendom, it is urged, has no particular form or teaching, inherent in its nature, but time, place, race, culture, etc., are decisive as to form and content for the religion itself; indeed, primitive Christianity, even the very words of Christ, show in expression and mode of presenting religious truth the peculiarities characteristic of the Semitic type of mind. From all this it is understood that there is no such thing as a "revelation" of God, the content of which is available for all mankind, at every time and in every place.

What answer shall be made to this reasoning? We will not disclaim the important influence of time, place, culture, etc., in the development of religious sentiment, but the conclusion that has been drawn is false. The multifariousness of religious forms does not militate against the supposition of a divine revelation; on the contrary, the idea of revelation supposes variety. Revelation, it is clear, is intended to expose, to indicate, to inform, in such a way that the content of that revelation may come within the reach of human understanding and the meaning thereof be grasped by it. And since there are great differences between the Semitic and Aryan religious temperaments resulting in the reproduction of the same re-

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ligious ideas in a different manner, a "revelation" to a Semitic people will necessarily take other forms and content than a revelation to the Aryan race. The idea of revelation therefore supposes a human and local factor. The adaptation of the popular mood is the condition of all revelation. Without this adaptation the revelation cannot be understood, i.e., is not a "revelation."

Revelation supposes a human factor, but the human factor is not the only one, for if it were we should not speak of revelation. What proceeds out of the human mind is to be conceived by the human mind, and is the object of science and knowledge. To conceive something is to explain it out of its own causes, with the aid of our categories of thought, arguing that it is as it is and *must* be so. The human perceptive faculty does not accept a mystery, but only that which is evident, and may be conceived in presentive words, and is real to active thought.

But the human mind is never satisfied with knowledge. Human needs and longings reach far beyond the "knowable" world of relativities; and supernatural realities, not accessible to intellectual argument, are notwithstanding recognizable and real for us; we touch them with our deeper and more subtle faculties of soul, whereas divine revelation brings them within our reach. So we recognize two realities: the material world, accessible to intellectual science, and the supernatural world, to which our intellect does not reach, but with which we nevertheless have contact through revelation. Revelation is therefore contact between the divine and the human world.

The question then arises: *What* is revealed? Strange answers have been given. Some say *Christendom* has been revealed. Others that the *Bible* is revealed. Or, *truth* is revealed, meaning intellectual truth, a complex of intellectual sentences. All these answers suppose that God revealed to us a *doctrine*, which is to be assented to, to be accepted as the means of salvation, a consent of reason in order to be saved. Following this train of thought,

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we find that Christ is a teacher and nothing more; He brings divine doctrine to man, and with that His task is ended. And when there is room for Him with His doctrine, doctrine takes the first place, and He the second. In speaking thus, one wrongs both Christ and the Gospel. For in one respect the Gospel differs from all other great religions which have an historical founder: Buddhism, Zarathustrism, Confucianism, etc. In all these the founder is the teacher of a religious doctrine and nothing more. His task is merely to deliver to man the doctrine entrusted to him by his God. And when he has preached the way of salvation his task is performed. At his death Buddha is believed to have said: "Now my doctrine takes my place." He was the means to convey the message. Buddha, Mohammed, Confucius, etc., were only the subjects of the revelation they brought, not its object, nor its content.

In the Gospel Christ's position is quite a different one, His relation to His doctrine is of quite another nature. The main point is not the message, but the Messenger. The counterpart of Buddha's words: "My doctrine takes my place" is: "*I am with you always even unto the end of the world.*" In the Gospel the essential is Christ Himself, His doctrine is of consequence only in so far as it brings Him to the fore. Christ *brings* not the truth, but He *is* the truth; He *shows* not the way but He *is* the way. Buddha's words can be understood without Buddha, but the words of Christ are inseparable from His person.

This is an interesting disparity with a remarkable basis. Buddha, Confucius, Mohammed, etc., act only as teachers, as bringers of a message, because these religions suppose that man does not *know* the way of salvation, and that when he knows it he will go that way as a matter of course. Under these systems man lacks knowledge and nothing else; a teacher to instruct is all that is needed.

But according to the Gospel man is sinful. Worse than not knowing the way, he *will* not go the way. Man

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must be redeemed, not only from his ignorance, but from his enmity against God. The purpose is not merely to give him better ideas, but to make him better; he must be reclaimed and converted; his selfishness must make room for love to God and man; his worldly-mindedness must be replaced by faith; his pride must be broken.

To accomplish this the best doctrine, the most embracing knowledge is powerless. The will of man resists all theory, it is love alone that can bend it. The most that a theory or a doctrine can do is to influence human thought, it cannot change the longings of the heart. According to the Gospel, therefore, man needs not instruction but redemption from his sin.

The Gospel goes yet farther when it says that not only will man not do God's will, but that he cannot without being converted, since the doing of God's will is not to be identified with a series of outward religious acts, but with the inclination of the heart to Him. This makes it clear that Christ is not the revelation of God because He brought a new doctrine of salvation whereby He is set on a level with Buddha, Mohammed, Confucius, etc., not even because He taught the truth, but because He *is* the truth, because in His life and death He manifested and realized the divine life and love, might and holiness. Therefore we do not say: God revealed the truth through Christ, but that God revealed Himself in Christ. Christ is the corporeal manifestation of God. He belongs to the two spheres, the divine and the human, and is object as well as subject and preacher. This is what we mean when we say: Christ is the revelation of God.

Christ, the divine revelation, belonging to both the natural and supernatural spheres, withdraws Himself from full conception by mere human intellect. His personality cannot be explained by psychical means alone, He cannot be measured by our psychical criteria and laws. Judged by our standards we perceive that that which is most essential and typical in His personality

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evades us. Many scholars have tried to write a "Life of Christ," but none has succeeded in describing Him satisfactorily. Reading even the best biographies of His life, we feel again and again that the outside, a superficial account of His deeds, words, etc., is given, but that His real, inner life is not depicted.

The impossibility of portraying Him with reference to His inner life is not the result of His being a so-called "religious hero," for other religious heroes, such as Buddha, Mohammed, Moses, Jeremiah, Augustine, Luther, etc., may be pictured as such in a satisfactory way, without other gaps than those arising from the defects and unreliability of literary sources and the difficulties always met with in attempts to search the depths of the human soul. Neither the miracles worked by Him as recorded in the Gospel, nor such matters as His supernatural birth, are the origin of the difficulty above mentioned, for similar narratives exist of the idealized founders of other religions, like Buddha, Mohammed, etc. Idealizing is indeed the work of man, and is carried out by means of human thought, therefore human thought can conceive it. An idealized man can be imagined, for he is a man, even though endowed with superhuman attributes. But the difficulty in describing the personality of Christ is that human laws of thought do not pertain to His psychical life, that we cannot conceive Him by our common means.

Many of His characteristic sayings are treasured up in the Gospel, many characteristic deeds are told of Him. Nevertheless we can say nothing about His character. A man's character is what is typical of him, what distinguishes him from all other men, what makes him really what he is. Buddha, Mohammed, Jeremiah may be characterized, but not Christ. Even writers who have endeavoured to produce a profound biography have been unable to give any characterization of His personality. In the sense in which we use the word, we might say He

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has not a character, meaning that our term "character" does not apply to Him.

We distinguish four classes of temperament: the choleric, the sanguine, the phlegmatic, and the melancholic. All characters except Christ's may be classified under one of these. What was His temper? Which of the four? None of them? You will not find a place for Him, He withdraws Himself from all classification.

In reading the narratives of the Gospel and in adjudging Him psychologically therefrom we seem to get into a blind alley. His countenance is always other than we would suppose it to be by analogy to our own behaviour. Nowhere do we find wavering or perplexity in the face of the crafty wiles of His enemies, their stratagems are utterly defeated without any exertion on His part, and when they steal away dumb-founded, there is no touch of mischievous joy on His countenance. He gives Himself up to anguish as we do; in His whole behaviour there is nothing "heroic" as there was, for instance, in the death of Socrates. Such an heroic death we can admire, for it is a human death, the death of an heroic man. But before the dying Christ we are silent. He was indeed no idealized man, He was not one of the religious heroes of mankind, He was more than that.

Can we know what it is that distinguishes Him? I think so. When we consider a great and noble man, a prophet like Buddha, one who gave himself entirely to his sublime task, we ask ourselves, what was it that urged him to attain to "the four holy truths?" History tells us how Buddha, when twenty-nine years of age, quitted his parents, his young wife, and only son, and became a *sannyasin*. After seven years of meditation and internal struggle he assumed the title of Buddha, the Awakened. He reached that height through struggles and agonizing to free his soul from desire. In fighting the stream of his own desires he crossed life's stormy ocean and reached the haven of peace. In his eyes life is grief and transitoriness; the

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world is of no value, it has no reality, no purpose; man's only hope of happiness lies in escape. Such are his bitter experiences. Thoughts like these drove him out in a capuche, and as soon as he found deliverance himself, he set forth his own misery and his own redemption as world-misery and world-redemption to be suffered and acquired by all mankind. The substance of his preaching of need and happiness is the objectifying of his own inner life and soul-history. In the last instance Buddha preaches his own redemption. Other figures might be considered, nearer chronologically, historically more reliable: St. Paul, Augustine, Luther.

With such as these it is the same. Restlessness and anguish drove them out to find repose and peace of mind, and when they found it they made their history world history, preaching the same redemption to all. It is this "pre-history" which echoes continually in their preaching: "O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" (Rom. 7:24). And Luther's central thought was: "*Wie ich einen gnädigen Gott kriege*," How can I acquire a merciful God? These champions of faith sounded the depths of man's misery by descending to the ground of their own hearts. They realized the necessity for keeping the divine moral law and their inability to do so.

And Christ? He sounded the heart of man, and grasped the essence of sin as a state of mind, as enmity against God. Yet we find in Him no consciousness of sin or trespass, no prayer for pardon, even on the Cross, except for His murderers, no feeling of being lost, no remorse, no inner discord, no dualism, no process of conversion, no renewal of life, nothing of all that was the starting point with all religious heroes. Moreover, it cannot be maintained that He had already passed through such struggles before He began preaching. In His teaching there is not even the slightest sign of His having undergone such a process. No ground-swell of earlier

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inward storms of sin is to be found in His consciousness. The certainty which was life-supporting to Him was: I do always those things that please the Father. His psychical equilibrium is in contrast to the restless anxiety of a St. Paul, an Augustine or a Luther.

This contrast expresses itself even in the words they make use of. While St. Paul and Augustine weary themselves with superlatives in order to find adequate expression for their feeling, Christ speaks in the repose of the positive. "God is good," says Christ. And whereas the superlative is not a deeper expression than the positive, but an attempt to reach the height of the positive, Augustine exerts himself in ascending that mount of the absolute "good," but he does not come higher than the assurance: God is the Best of All (*Summum Bonum*). Likewise the accumulation of words by St. Paul in 2 Cor. 4:17, where he describes the gloriousness of Heaven when he speaks of "a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory" is but an effort to express approximately "the Kingdom of Heaven." Christ speaks of it in simple words. The difference of speech arises from the different relations of the speakers to the things spoken of. For man the glory of Heaven and the sinless state is not known by experience, and he depicts it with all the colours he can find. For Christ it is His common home. His relation to God is not ours, and Christ Himself is aware of this. When He speaks of God as Father He does not say "Our Father in Heaven," but always "My Father," or "Your Father." Not in the same way in which we are, is he Son of God.

How may His peculiar relation to God be described? I do not know. When we say: "Christ is the Son of God" we use a term which itself needs explanation. The Gospel and the Christian Church borrowed this term from the Eastern world, where it was the indication of divine incarnation. In the first ages of the Christian era intense discussion arose as to the union of the human and

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the divine attributes of Christ, a conflict now at an end, not because we understand the problem, but because we know we cannot understand it. Yet we persist in using that term, whereas though we do not understand Him, we do understand one another in speaking of Him; and because we have no other words to express this, we impute divine attributes to Him, and say that He is the revelation of God. The confession "Christ the Son of God" is not a mere dogmatic formula obtained by our intellectual faculties, but it is born of the deep impression He makes on the religious soul of man. The classic example is the confession of Thomas, uttered before the supposedly dead Jesus: "My Lord and my God."

Will then the same confession be made by all who come into contact with Him? I think not. Those who have grown up in Christian surroundings, in continual intercourse with the Bible, to whom such words as "Son of God," "Mediator," etc., were familiar before personal contact with Christ, have when meeting Him, as a matter of course, used the same words as the Christian Church of all ages. These are familiar to them, and they cannot find others better than these. They do not question them, but accept them and make use of them as they find them in the community to which they belong.

But there are thousands living without the Gospel and the Church, for whom the Bible is an unknown book, the Church an antiquated institution. They are lacking in reverence for the words of the Bible and the testimony of Christian tradition, which is no more sacred to them than any other tradition. They will criticize these as they will anything else which comes within their sphere.

Nowadays many intellectual men and women who are alienated from the Bible and the Church are seeking a hold in this unstable world. They have no security in life or death, and in the midst of the abundance of money, learning, civilization, science and culture, they feel something of that "I perish with hunger." Their souls

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are languishing for God with a vague longing. They wish and seek for they know not what. But when they chance to come into contact with Christ, and become aware that He is bread for their hunger, an answer to their demands, when, in a word, they find Him, before having a dogmatic knowledge of Him, or even an idea of His metaphysical relation to God, then it is not a matter of course that they will name Him by our dogmatic formulas. They will find their own words for their feelings, and perhaps they will not use metaphysical terms at all. Shall we then acknowledge them as our "brethren in Christ"? Why not? Have we not just agreed that not doctrine about Christ but Christ Himself is the revelation of God? Why then must they begin by accepting our dogmatic formulas? Is it a matter of course that the accepted doctrines, learned by rote, contain more religious truth than the meagre terms they replace? Why must they begin by accepting our terms, which they do not understand? Shall we, like Buddhism, Islam and other heathen religions, put the doctrine before the teacher? Or shall we acknowledge that contact with Christ Himself comes first, and that doctrine has a religious value only in so far as it is born of personal contact with Him. Not our agreement with regard to Him, but our union in Him, makes us "one" in Christ. The sun shone even before the time of Galileo and Copernicus, and light and warmth are not dependent on our knowledge of it.

In the conversation of Christ with the "woman of Samaria," she calls Him first "Jew" (St. John 4:9), then "Sir" (v.15), then "Prophet" (v.19), and lastly "Christ" (v.29). Each moment perception grows; she feels her estimate of Him is too low, and seeks for another name for Him. All these are the result of her conversation with Him. And Jesus does not reproach her when she calls him "Jew" or "Sir" or "Prophet" because she has not yet a deeper insight, for "Christ" will only be of value in her mouth when it comes of experience. How many of us

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need a lifetime to accomplish what she learned in the course of one dialogue! In St. Matthew 9:20-21 the story is related of a woman who "came behind Him, and touched the hem of His garment; for she said within herself: If I may but touch His garment, I shall be whole. And the woman was made whole from that hour." Reading this we do not question the "Christology" of the woman. When one comes into contact with Christ "virtue goes out of Him." And when His "virtue" flows into us, we call Him by the greatest name we know, "Son of God." If others, coming from another side, call Him by another name, we will not condemn them, we will give them time to learn by their own experience that no other name so well expresses the deep mystery of His manifestation and His holy love. And I think they will discover that those who know Christ are eager to learn more of His life, whereof the Gospels are the reliable record. We will not disturb the unfolding of the religious soul that has not yet found the true name for what it has received from Christ. The human soul is a sanctuary; entrance there is not permitted with noise and great words, nor with formulas, even if prescribed by tradition. Everyone must find his own way, or better still, is led his own road. We must learn to see spiritual unity in spite of variety in expression. We must understand the almost infinite variety in aspect of everything living; only dead things are uniform. There are as many varieties of the human countenance as there are men. There is no simpler thing than a human face, yet how manifold are the human features. As multifarious as men are externally, even so are they internally. What makes a man a Christian is his contact with Christ. Everyone should be free to speak of that contact in his own words, for where Christian life is, there its fruits will be seen; "by their fruits ye shall know them."

The Unity of God and Man

By JAMES LINDSAY, D.D., F.R.S.E.

The basis of such union of man with God, and of God with man, as is possible, must be found in the nature of God—in what He is, and what He requires. The nature of that union may be described as the life of God in the soul of man. That is a mystical union, it will be said. But I neither court nor shun all mysticism; I only aver what the open-minded cannot deny, that the inner life and vigour of true religion have always been of the nature of mysticism. The study of such unity of God and man has, as has long been known, its own requirements; it requires the soul to form an idea of Him, whom it seeks to know; it requires it to frame some adequate conception of that Divine greatness and moral splendour to which it seeks to unite itself; and it demands of it a profound persuasion that supreme blessedness is only to be found in such union. Nor is that all indeed that is to be said, but it may for the moment suffice. In the religious view of the world, man and all things are from God and of Him. Man can therefore only live the true life as he lives in God. He is only perfect when he has reached unity with God. It thus becomes, as Schlegel, in dealing with the philosophy of history, said, “the most important subject, and the first problem of philosophy,” to consider “the restoration in man of the lost image of God.” But men are spiritually so hyper-sensitive to-day that we hear less of this lost image being traced in us again; still, if there is union of man with God, it is that of a God-united consciousness, which is achieved only from a

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state in which it was disunited. There is no privilege so great as such free and voluntary union, ethical and spiritual, with God, and many are the aspects and considerations which have been overlooked in connection with its development in the course of the ages. It is with some of these the present paper would deal.

This great conception of God, as the need of the soul, which finds consciousness and value grounded in Him, has been an imposing historic magnitude in religious life and thought. It involves the conception of the Oversoul, or the Over-Individual, to which we may ascend, and with which as soul of the soul, we may become bound, in conscious spirituality. Creative spirituality is the result. That man is to be one with God through the supersensible Deity dwelling within him, is certainly the teaching of the Christian religion, wherein not only the individual, but humanity, with its pains and travail, is regarded as meant to fall within the compass of the Divine Life. Of this Divine thought or intention of our spiritual union it has been eminently true that:

“One accent of the Holy Ghost
The heedless world hath never lost.”

I shall not now dwell on the utterances on the joining in communion God and man, say, by Irenaeus and Athanasius, but refer to Augustine, whose work was significantly germinal for our theme. Nor do I dwell on Clement and Origen, both of whom claimed communion with God through the life of contemplation. Augustine is content with no knowledge of God short of His self-revelation to the soul, with the soul's resultant consciousness of communion with God. But this he conceives as no mere fruit of his own search, rather is it God who has found him—*percussisti cor meum*. “Where, then, did I find Thee, and so learn to know Thee, unless it were in Thine own self above and beyond me?” But such knowledge is life, and eternal life. It is Augustine,

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too, who, in a great saying, declares that God has made us for Himself, and that restless are our hearts until they rest in Him. The blessedness of communion with God Augustine had definitely reached, not without the help of Neo-Platonism on the way. The intimate character of this union of the human soul with God he emphasizes in his work *On the Trinity*. He exemplifies a mighty subjectivity in this passionate longing for the possession of God, and union with Him through grace. The experience is one which signifies an agreement of reverence and love on the human side. On the Divine Side, God dwells in the man, is one with him. The mystic element of Godinwardness appears in Augustine in immediate unity with knowledge, will, and love. He is, in this respect, a precursor of Eckhart, and an influence for all time.

Tolstoi once wrote in his journal, "he whose goal is God is a great man." To no one has that greatness belonged more than to Augustine. Transcendence of God there was to Augustine, as there had been to some others, but there was a Divine immanence in his spiritual consciousness of God, and that immanence had better be conceived, I think, as a form or mode of Divine omnipresence which is free, ethical and intensive. To it may be applied Luther's great saying, *finitum capax infiniti*, the creature, as the habitation of God, receiving the infinite in virtue of God's ethical nature, and that, too, without any cancellation of the personality of the finite subject. I have spoken of Neo-Platonism, and it must be said that Plotinus here compares, religiously and philosophically, unfavourably with Augustine. In the latter, the metaphysical nimbus of the One of Plotinus has fallen away: the One of Plotinus had neither being nor life, but was beyond existence; his One consisted abstractly in itself, and was a relationless unity—in other words, it was not a One for a consciousness, nor in a consciousness. But though this One may not

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be known, He knows Himself by direct self-intuition, which, however, does not take away the separability, rather than union, which has been created. Turn, by contrast, to these more satisfying words of Gregory Nazianzen on the possibilities of union with God: "No man knows, or will ever know, what God is in His own essence and nature; but to my thinking we shall know what is like to God in ourselves; our mind and reason will be united with Him whose likeness we are, and the image of God will be raised into the presence of the Original, with whose desire our soul is touched, and then we shall know even as we are known."

Now, the important point is, that in such experiences we have not a mere subjective experience, but in some sort an inward becoming of the reality of God, to which not even metaphysical significance can be wholly denied. For it implies the unity of consciousness with the real God, who is in the human spirit. The metaphysical timidity of theological thinking on such matters has nothing praiseworthy about it. The purport of not a little of the Patristic teaching is just the clasping of humanity in hypostatic union with the Eternal God. The subject of Divine Union received specific treatment at the hands of pseudo-Dionysius (not in his work on the Divine Names only, but in that on Mystical Theology), and, later, from Albertus Magnus, in his striking opusculum on the subject (*De Adhaerendo Deo*). In his Mystical theology, Dionysius made the Divine essence the source of all being and perception, and set out a scheme for rising to perfect union with God Himself. In his work on the Divine Names, this union is declared to be by the soul being carried away above intelligence. He was largely influenced by Plotinus and Proclus, especially the latter, and became, in his turn, a potent force for the thought of the Middle Ages. Albertus strongly stood for man's union with God in this life, a union effected through knowledge, as was

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the prevailing tendency of all antiquity. Between these two came Scotus Erigena, who taught men, not very helpfully, that God did not even know Himself, and therefore could not be known by us. On the other hand, the possibilities of soul-union with God were set forth by Gregory the Great, Bernard of Clairvaux, and Bonaventura.

If I do not dwell on the great Aquinas, that is not because he does not recognize any intimate relation between God, who is "man's beatitude," and man, who "naturally knows" Him. But it is because I account his teaching on this subject far behind what he has given us on many other topics. Eckhart, in his inner concentration, maintained the spiritual union of God and man, as effected in the act of our perceiving Him. His eye and God's eye, he said, were one eye. To Eckhart, God is the sole universal, and necessary Being; God and Being are one; everything exists only in Him. The creature is not separated from God; but the knowledge of God's nearness is that which gives blessedness; by the Son, who is one with God, all things are, he holds, in God—in fact, are God, according to his tinge or type of pantheistic mysticism. All creatures, in his view, bear the stamp of the Divine nature; hence he maintains that they have a deep and painful yearning after union with God, and rest in Him. But the crushing out of will and desire is carried by Eckhart at times to lengths which are extreme. Clearly what is called for is, that such immediate knowledge of God be ethically justified, but it is only in part that the ethical teaching of Eckhart is faulty or defective. He is, in general, too abstract and monistic, and lacks the historic sense, in his perhaps too great impatience of Time.

Without touching on Tauler, Teresa, and others, I pass to speak of the sounder, more theistical thought of Ruysbroeck. He thinks man, as having come from God, must return to union with Him. But we shall never

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cease to be ourselves, never be lost in God, according to his better insistences. Nor will God ever be anything but God, so that while we may be consciously one with Him, it is as retaining our distinctness from Him. In a precise and tiny work on Christian Faith, Ruysbroeck says: "We shall understand by love and we shall be understood by love, and God shall possess us and we Him in unity. We shall enjoy God, and, united to Him, we shall rest in blessedness. And this measureless delight, in that superessential rest, is the ultimate source of blessedness." In another work, he says of the life of contemplation and self-renunciation—"There he sees the eternal light revealed, and in that light he feels an eternal craving for union with God. And he himself feels a constant fire of love which desires above all things to be one with God." And he proceeds to say that the unity in the whole experience is that of love and nothing but love, which carries us to a more complete absorption in God than is always found in Ruysbroeck, who has thus the note of the genuine mystic. I would remark, however, that the Divine Love, on which Ruysbroeck dwells strongly, is the expression of God's oneness with us.

The danger of such experiences is, I think, that they assume a character too purely individual, subjective, and accidental, whereas experience based on close contact with truth and knowledge retains a universally valid cast, as is desirable and even essential. This also helps preserve from the danger of absorption in God, which in the main Ruysbroeck seems wishful to avoid, although I do not think he succeeds so completely as some theological writers have supposed. He says, for example, we ought "to plunge ourselves beyond ourselves into its unsounded depths," to "rise and go beyond ourselves into its inconceivable height," so that there shall be "an eternal fusion and transfusion, absorption and perabsorption, of ourselves in the glory of

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God," and more of the like. But the communing soul should, I think, still distinguish itself from God: it should keep the actuality of its spiritual experience free from arbitrariness, and let it wear an inwardly necessary, universally valid character; it should know itself as this particular person, distinguished from God; it should find its freedom in unity with ethical Deity, who makes it free.

It is absurd to say that the soul of the mystic has no need of revelation; if he himself thinks so, he may be taken as merely self-deceived; it is patent that, but for revelation, his blissful experience of union with God could neither be, nor be assured, at least in any satisfactory sense. I do not mean this, however, to be taken in any sense that would impair the integrity of his living, present experience, with its independent and inward certitude, to which historic revelation may be viewed, for the nonce, rather in the light of a corroborative adjunct. But that is not all, as we shall see later, and certain it is that not for long could the individual spiritual consciousness be isolated from collective Christian experience and historical connection. There is no reason why he should not have an immediate knowledge of God, should not know himself as in God and God as working efficaciously within him, without failing to realize that he is still organ or instrument of God, with place and purpose in His advancing kingdom. Still, one cannot but feel, in what are one's best moments, that it is perhaps all too easy for us to blame an Eckhart or a Ruysbroeck for too great absorption in mystic union with God, forgetting the while that the world, with its time-stresses and tensions, is so much with us men of to-day, that we err by terrible defect.

Now, I think it would be a great mistake to exclude the Reformation from our purview, since it was, on one side, a retrogression to the mystical conception of

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immediate knowledge. The freedom of a Christian man was Luther's last principle. But wherein free? In the fact that he had the immediate witness of the Spirit to Divine Grace. The Reformational principle of the priesthood of all believers—the right of direct access to God—bears strongly upon our subject and its open possibilities. For it made the actuality of the community of God with man no longer an essentially historical and past affair, but a present and living concern.

When it comes to Kant, he is seen to cut no illustrious or inspiring figure in the sphere of religion—far from it—immense as his services have been to speculative thought. Yet, strange to say, a new tendency, beginning with Kant, runs on through Fichte, Schleiermacher, Schelling, and Hegel, a tendency towards the unifying of God and man. For they concern themselves more or less, with the religious life itself—with the essence of Christianity or its inmost principle. As for Kant, we have the testimonies of Kuno Fischer and of Zeller as to his belief in the reality of God. But Kant himself says “it is indeed necessary to be *convinced* of the existence of God, but it is not equally necessary to demonstrate it.” I do not propose to deal with his *Religion within the Limits of Pure Reason*, save to note his Deistic setting, and his utter lack of feeling—the foreignness to him of the mystical side of religion. Still, there does fall a crumb from his table when he uses a phrase about “uprearing and upbuilding a new man—a *temple of God*.” But he is in marked contrast with religion when he allows his moralism to centre so much in himself. Our practical faith is pretty much the reverse of that defined by Kant, whereby the man is so conscious of a moral disposition that he can repose in confidence in himself. Our faith, in the religious sphere, is rather in One not ourselves, Who is able to uphold us and keep us from falling. Amazing is his lack of room for the consciousness of God within the soul of

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man, whereby the individual can be raised far above himself. Indeed, Kant has a gift of thinning out religion, so that little of the specific characteristics of the vital religious life is left. So-called "means of grace" he empties likewise of ethical significance. He is not unwilling to admit there may be a sphere of the supernatural, but he is himself without that fine sense of contact or communion with the Divine which has been a distinguishing feature of great religious personalities in all ages. It has been accounted a merit in Kant that he retains "a pure religious faith," which every man can make his own, over against a faith which is historically begotten, but the merit is much less religiously than some theological thinkers have supposed, on a careful examination of the whole context or setting. Kant's appeal, in spite of his rationalism, was an appeal to the heart—to faith in the moral law. But his will to believe was intelligibly due to the fact that he still believed in a rational universe. The significant thing, for my purpose, is that he emphasized, in connection with the Christian idea of the supreme good, the moral will, in which is found the point of union with God, though, as I have shewn, in a way significantly other than that of Kantian moralism.

Fichte, in his later stage, got beyond his unsatisfactory mere exclusive moralism, so that in the *Anweisung*, he can even speak of the individual "who vividly recognizes his unity with God, and who truly and actually abandons his entire individual life to the Divine Life." And elsewhere, he finds God to be the Absolute Life, which binds all spirits in one, and expresses itself through individuals. He comes to think, indeed, that everyone should know that God urges on his work within him, and that everyone can become a citizen of the Kingdom of Heaven.

Schelling pursued the unity of God and man in a manner characteristic of his system. There is, for him,

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an identity of the human mind and the Essence of all Being. The first principle of the moral life is, to Schelling, the knowledge of God, who has revealed Himself, but, it would appear, as from necessity. The essence of the moral life he finds in the soul's tendency to unite itself to God as the centre of all things. But he identifies, in his pantheistic tendencies, the Deity too much with Nature, and even renders certain laws superior to Him. The evolution of the God-idea in history is traced by him so as to show a passing from pantheism or monotheism to polytheism, and thence to the triune God of revelation. But for him the world's history is just God coming to Himself, and our longing for the actual God constitutes, for him, religion. He has an idea of man as divine, that he may know God. His philosophy of religion, indeed, holds to a personal God, to freedom, and to individual immortality, but it yet remains of very negative value. Clearly, the disposition of ethical and spiritual elements required for a satisfactory unity of God and man is not to be found here.

Hegel made religion "a relation of the spirit to absolute Spirit." He placed God within, not without, religious experience. He made much of our idea of God. To get a consciousness of the unity of Divine and human nature, we need this unity embodied in a definite individual—who is the Divine Idea—such as we have in the God-Man. The unity or oneness of God and man is, with Hegel, a great insistence, on which I am hardly now concerned to make critical reflections. What I am concerned with is the fact of his presentation of the unity of God and man. "Christ has appeared; a Man who is God; God who is Man; and thereby peace and reconciliation have accrued to the world." This is Hegel's great and richly wrought out message to the world, whether one agrees with it at all points or not.

Schleiermacher, like Hegel, centres in the historic Christ, unique Mediator between God and Man, and

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makes religion an integral element in human life. In Schleiermacher, as in Hegel, are elements that call for criticism, but I am not now concerned with these, but with what there positively is in his presentation relative to God and man. For him, the feeling of unconditional dependence and the consciousness of one's relatedness to God, are one; and consciousness of God and self-consciousness are inseparable. Of course, there is a savour of natural connection in much of his thought due to its Spinozan tinge; but still, he has a mystical comprehension of religion, and thinks we can win a powerful consciousness of God, corresponding to the true idea of religion. "The true nature of religion," he says, "is not in any 'idea,' but is 'immediate consciousness of the Deity as He is found in ourselves and in the world.' " Christ, for Schleiermacher, mediates all being of God in the world, and is the source of such religion.

Now, even such a brief historic survey serves to shew that the excellence of the Christian religion lies in the fact than in it, as nowhere else, is realized the unity of God and man—wherein all separation is transcended. It also serves to shew the stream of spiritual idealism ever-breaking out afresh in the demand for God Himself, independently of all insecure mediations. No historicity need blind us to a just appreciation of this fact, in its significance for living piety, and in this generation there is not the least danger of our sense of mystic Divine Union becoming so great as to lead to any undervaluation of historic magnitudes and values. Kant's phrase about man as "a temple of God" is here fulfilled in grander form than his hard and halting religiosity ever knew, for man has won a concentrated and independent personality in free ethical union with the Deity who dwells in him. His freedom as a Christian man is seen in his free knowledge of the truth and essence of the Christian religion. For only in a free way can the truth be known as truth. But his knowledge is not merely

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of the intellect, albeit his communion of spirit with God is always mediated by thought. Thought is the universal medium of all life of the spirit, but the peculiar value of the spiritual does not depend on thought in isolation from co-operant will and feeling. Hence not through knowledge of the intellect alone, but through obedience to Divine Will, does he know God and His teaching. In his unity with God, his immediate knowledge of God, he casts off as an unworthy slough every thought or idea of self-redemption. Personality becomes immeasurably heightened in value through this indwelling of an immanent Deity who is yet an Over-I, but the man's sense deepens the while that *Humilibus dat gratiam*. It is no life of feeling fluxes, for spiritualized reason holds the rein. It is of the essence of such a life of freedom that it makes an advancing development, a deepening of knowledge, possible, and even certain.

I have not spoken of thinkers like Fénelon, who held a strong theory—derived from Neo-Platonic sources—of the absolute unity of God, but who yet believed we were born for the love of God; nor of Pascal, who made God the soul's only good, its only rest, its only joy; nor of many others who have stood in this current of unified spiritual thought. But in all of them have been presupposed movement of God to man and of man to God, with resultant indwelling of God in man, and unifying of man with God. It cannot be too plainly stated that it is no mere oneness of being or nature that is meant—as by mere natural immanence—but an active, voluntary, and ethically realized union. It is in this realized personal relationship of man to God—God in us, we in God—that any adequate conception of religion can alone be found. Most meagre and unsatisfactory are the definitions of religion which, in psychological terms of our purely subjective and emotional attitudes, still sometimes appear in current philosophies of religion. They are half definitions, and poor

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at that, passing not beyond presumptive probability. But, no doubt, in theology, as elsewhere, a half-loaf is better than no bread. If any worthy aspiration for objective spiritual reality be, in our experience, conspicuous by its absence, we can ill compensate ourselves with the reflection that we are experiencing what we are pleased to call "value." All our apprehensions, apart from God, are partial and incomplete, for we have not yet reached the keystone of the arch of truth. Clearly, the consciousness of the "otherness" of God ought not to be so excluded from religious experience. That experience includes a non-self, which is, in this case, God, more real than all other reality. Religion is not constituted merely by our own emotionalism or subjective aspirations, but by the presence of God at the inmost centre of our life—His creative and sustaining presence in respect of those spiritual ideals which are quite the most precious thing in or about us. Our participation in that Divine Life constitutes for us that consummate union, the sense of whose realized possibility the world has never lost since Athanasius greatly conceived it in his crowning thought that God Himself had entered humanity. No narrow conception was his: "The Logos, while present in the human body and Himself quickening it, was, without inconsistency, quickening the universe as well, and was in every process of nature." But it is with the Divine immanence in man we are here concerned, in which connection it is worth while to remember that even Spinoza was able to say that our highest love of God is but a portion of God's infinite love for Himself. The man who has found his home and dwelling place in God finds himself supported and sustained by God's own activity within him. This to him is not mere theory; it is life—basic, organic, ontologic, and spiritual being. Mediated by Christ it may be, if, with F. D. Maurice, we take Christ to be the essential ground of all human life; but Christ

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is the way to God, and it is the spiritual unity of God and man that we aim to realize. Religious thought has so much concerned itself with what man is to be saved from, that it has had too little vision and hold of what he is saved unto, even the rich potentialities of the life in perfect or harmonious union with God. No numerical oneness with God, but a Christianly theistic fusion of the life with the infinitely rich and full Divine Life. Whence but from such life, Spirit-filled and God-inspired—whose thought is the divine thought, whose life the divine life—are to spring the inspirations and spiritual impulses to world-service of thought and life? Where but in the multiform realizations of such life shall we find the ever-increasing union of men in God? Hence the peerless importance of this God-united life being maintained in fulness and vigour, with its increasing knowledge of the *What* of the Divine Nature in all its illuminating influence on the mind, and its irradiating effects on character. Its path is that of spiritual reason or insight, and in its knowledge of God as its Divine complement or Other, it leaves far behind every form of merely pantheistic immanence. Can we find any higher path to the harmony of thought with truth—truth as in God—and of feeling with thought? Reason is God-given, we say; but why, for its full strength and height, should it not be also God-directed? But this without any lessening of that activism in man's use of all his powers, on which one must strenuously insist. But what I have urged is in keeping with the great truth of God and humanity, that man is meant to live, not only in, but from God. Can we doubt that we should think more profoundly and efficaciously in Him? Surely we may well ask ourselves, with George Macdonald in his poem *A Hidden Life*:

“Have I aimed proudly, therefore aimed too low,
Striving for something visible in my thought,
And not the unseen thing hid far in Thine?”

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There is a whole world of spiritual knowledge, experience, and conquest, beyond that *anima naturaliter Christiana* on which we in this time have too idly rested; and the masters of the God-united life have shewn us, "whose spirits live in awful singleness, each in his self-formed sphere of light or gloom," the rich result, in power and elevation, of learning the incommunicable secret of God's presence. This recalls the saying of Augustine that "we can mount still higher, if we carry our thoughts towards the inner side of our being. We thereby reach our souls, and, passing beyond them, we penetrate to the region of unfailing fertility." That is precisely the region to which our thoughts have now been directed, a region of "unfailing fertility," not mere static felicity, in God. Our union with God is not union with One who is will and love alone, but an union with Him who is the source of all knowledge and of all truth, in knowing Whom we come, in a correct use of Malebranche's phrase, to "see all things in God." For our religion is pre-eminently spiritual knowledge, and its foundations are laid deep in Eternal Reason. But that does not mean that our religion is merely one of ideas, and has nothing to do with historic fact and revelation. We know how Lessing contended that no historical truth could be demonstrated, and that nothing could therefore be demonstrated through historical truths. That is, he held that accidental truths of history could not be the evidence of necessary truths of reason. Undoubtedly a very suggestive pronouncement, but not therefore worthy of final acceptance. For there may be a Diviner way of preserving the idea in Christianity than any known to philosophic rationalism. The Christian ideas have lately had their importance emphasized by Royce, but not even his treatment can by any possibility be regarded as satisfactory. Christianity is fact—Christ—fact—as well as idea—Christ-idea; and the idea wins security and enrichment from the fact. Lessing's view

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overlooked the way in which Divine fact is, so to speak, renewed and immediately evidenced in the Christian consciousness. That consciousness—as in the God-united life of which I have been speaking—is so complete in its inward certitude as to wear a quasi-independence of historic fact or revelation; but it is much more correctly viewed as a continuance in the believing consciousness of the Divine and factual working of Christianity in the world. Spiritual continuity and development are in such ways preserved, as is obviously needful. Revelation in its record is not something complete in itself; it is but the vehicle of the self-revelation of God in Christ to our spiritual consciousness, which has a faculty for recognizing God and truth. It is thus far more than any question of the external authority of revelation: it is the profound enlistment of our whole rational and spiritual being in the service of the freely recognized claims of truth. The rich and strong Christian consciousness may, in its developed inwardness, feel less conscious dependence on historic revelation, but without its being thereby transcended. It is precisely through contact of a vital sort with historic Christianity that mind and soul are raised to new ideas and enlarged conceptions of God, in the realized union with Him which is our present concern. It were unwise to forget that all the great ideas, in virtue of which we sit with a certain looseness to historical revelation, have come to us on historic wing; and that the great facts of Christianity are wrongly conceived as mere dead facts, rather than as living powers or present historic forces. We here know the truth only as we will the truth, the facts only as we live them, that is, experience the power they are meant to exercise. Then do they wear for us a less “accidental” character, as they are seen to be necessary to the explanation of history, in its causal connections and developments.

We have now seen the possibilities and fruitful results

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of the spiritual unity of God and man. It is an unification, rather than an identification. But the unification is most real, vital, immediate, in character: in result it means strength, power, elevation, insight, tranquillity, and peace. A goodly reward of man's quest surely, albeit it is entirely of the spiritual order. Such beatitude is its own reward; it craves no other. It is, as Boutroux puts it, the Beyond that is Within; it is communion between man and God, a communion effected through communicated life. Such life is eternal; and eternal life is spiritual knowledge—"This is life eternal, that they should know Thee, the only true God, and Him whom Thou didst send, even Jesus Christ." Religious experience, says Boutroux, "cannot guarantee that Beyond as true." But when, I ask, did Life ever ask for guarantees? It is, and will ever be, its own sponsor, and its own witness.

The Logos in the Fourth Gospel

BY CHARLES JOHNSTON.

"The Fountain of the most ancient Logos. . . ."—*Philo*.

I.

In the opening verses of the Gospel according to Saint John, the religious philosophy of Christianity reached, in a single movement, its fullest sublimity and depth, finding at once a divine expression of the universe, and a supreme statement of the life and work of the Master. The three first gospels recognize in Jesus the Messiah of the Jews, "the Lord long looked for"; the fourth gospel, equally accepting Jesus as the hope of Israel, the Anointed, the Christ, finds a yet more universal expression of His divine life: He is the incarnation of the Logos, of the divine Mind and Heart of God.

It has long been recognized that the term, the *Logos*, and the philosophical thought behind it, were taken by the author of the fourth gospel from the writings of Philo of Alexandria, the greatest man, perhaps, of his nation at that time; one of the greatest of all times. But we may be inclined to think of the writer of the gospel as simply taking a phrase, a leading thought, without going much further into Philo's thought and system. In reality, the opening verses of John convey a complete philosophy of the universe, far-reaching and consistent; a system that must have been nearly as complete, as fully worked out, in the mind of the writer of the gospel as in the mind of Philo himself. We have here no partial or fragmentary borrowing of a thought only casually known.

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It is valuable to make this clear. We can best do so, perhaps, by using Philo's materials as a running commentary on the opening verses of the fourth gospel. When we have done this, we shall be better able to recognize how whole, how deep, how complete the philosophical thought in these opening verses is. Loisy has said that these opening verses are made up of ten phrases or philosophical tenets, falling into two groups of three each, and one group of four phrases; that the last term of each group is at once a conclusion from what has preceded, and the opening thought of the next group. He arranges the verses thus:¹

In the beginning was the Logos
And the Logos was with God
And the Logos was God

The same was in the beginning with God
All things were made by (through) Him
And without Him was not anything made

That hath been made. In Him was life
And the life was the light of men
And the light shone in the darkness
And the darkness apprehended (overcame) it not.

Following this very lucid arrangement, let us now try to expand it by using certain leading passages of Philo as a commentary or paraphrase.

II.

In what is probably his earliest treatise, on the account of the Creation of the World, as given by Moses²—that is, on the early chapters of Genesis—Philo tells us that Moses, who had early reached the very summits of philosophy, and who had learnt from the oracles of God the most numerous and important principles of nature, was well aware that it is indispensable that in all existing

¹ Alfred Loisy, *Le quatrième Évangile* (Paris, 1903).

² *Philonis de Opificio Mundi*. I have generally followed Yonge's close and accurate translation.

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things there must be an active cause, and a passive subject; and that the active cause is the Intellect (Nous) of the universe, thoroughly unadulterated and thoroughly unmixed, superior to virtue and superior to science, superior even to abstract good or abstract beauty, while the passive subject is something inanimate and incapable of motion by any intrinsic power of its own, but having been set in motion, and fashioned, and endowed with life by the Intellect (Nous), was then transformed into that most perfect work, the world. For God, apprehending beforehand that there could not exist a good imitation without a good model, and that of the things perceptible to the external senses nothing could be faultless which was not fashioned with reference to some archetypal idea conceived by the Intellect, when He had determined to create this visible world, previously formed that one which is perceptible only by the intellect, in order that so using an incorporeal model, He might then make this corporeal world a younger likeness of the elder creation.

Philo then uses his famous illustration of the *fiat* city, laid out, at the command of a king, by a "wise master-builder." We may think that he had in mind his own Alexandria, admirably laid out, at the command of Alexander the Great, by the architect Dinocrates, who had gained fame by rebuilding the temple of Diana at Ephesus. Up to this point, Philo calls the divine Mind *Nous*; in the passage that follows, he changes to *Logos*: As, therefore, the city, when previously shadowed out in the mind of the man of architectural skill, had no external place, but was stamped solely in the mind of the workman, so, in the same manner, neither can the world which existed in ideas have had any other local position except the divine Logos which made them.

He brings out more completely his conception of the creative Logos in the passages which follow: If anyone were to desire to use more undisguised terms, he would not call the world which is perceptible only to the intellect

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anything else but the Logos of God, already occupied in the creation of the world; for neither is a city, while only perceptible to the intellect, anything else but the logos of the architect, who is already designing to build one perceptible to the external senses, on the model of that which is so only to the intellect. . . . It is manifest also that the archetypal seal, which we call that world which is perceptible only to the intellect, must itself be the archetypal model, the idea of ideas, the Logos of God. Philo tells us that "In the beginning" means "first in order," not "first in time," since Time can only come with the heavenly bodies whose motions mark time, for "Time is the interval of the motion of the heavens." This may very well stand as a commentary on the opening words of the fourth gospel.

The passages so far quoted illustrate the first six sentences of John—the first two groups, as Loisy arranges them; the keynotes of these first two groups being: The Logos was with God; and, All things were made through Him. The keynote of the third group of sentences is, in like manner: In Him was life and the life was the light of men. From the same treatise on the Creation we may illustrate this. Philo writes that he calls the invisible divine Logos, perceptible only by the intellect, the image of God. And the image of this image is that Light, perceptible only by the intellect, which is the image of the divine Logos . . . and if one were to call it universal Light, he would not be very far wrong; since it is from it that the sun and moon, and all the other planets and fixed stars derive their due light, in proportion as each has power given it. The Logos is that Light, perceptible only to the intellect, which existed before the sun.

We may, then, parallel the opening verses of the fourth gospel by these sentences of Philo's:

The most universal of all things is God
And in the second place the Logos of God³

³ *Legum Allegoriarum liber* II, 21

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The incorporeal world was already completed
Having its seat in the divine Logos
The world perceptible by the senses
Was made on the model of it ⁴

The Logos is that light
Perceptible only by the intellect
Which existed before the sun ⁵

III.

So far, we have been concerned with the Logos, as the Power by and through which God created the worlds. We come now to the second movement of the teaching, which is concerned with the Logos as bringing the divine life and light to the souls of men.

We may preface this by an outline of Philo's teaching concerning the soul, taking two very brief illustrations from the treatise on the *Allegories of the Sacred Laws*. Commenting on the words of Genesis, "God created man," Philo writes: By his most conspicuous and brilliant Logos, God makes both things: the idea of mind, which, speaking symbolically, He calls heaven; and the idea of sensation, which, by a sign, He named earth. . . . The races of men are twofold, for one is the heavenly man and the other is the earthly man. Now the heavenly man, as being born in the image of God, has no participation in any corruptible or earth-like essence. But the earthly man is made of loose material, which he calls a lump of clay. ⁶

This irresistibly recalls Paul's famous passage, in the first letter to Corinth. And one might say that, in the teaching of Philo, salvation consists in the influence of the heavenly man, illumined by the Logos, upon the earthly man; bringing about a gradual "dying" of the

⁴ *De Opificio Mundi*, 10.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁶ *Legum Allegoriarum liber I*, 12.

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earthly man, and re-forming his nature in the likeness of the heavenly man.⁷

This brings us to the vital part of Philo's teaching—the regeneration through the Holy Spirit. It is well set forth in the third book of the Allegories, and particularly where he comments on the words: "Then said the Lord, Behold I will rain bread from heaven for you. . . ."⁸

Commenting on this, Philo says: You see now what kind of thing the food of the Lord is: it is the continued Logos of the Lord; like dew, surrounding the whole soul in a circle, and allowing no portion of it to be without a share of itself. And this Logos is not apparent in every place, but wherever there is a vacant space, void of passions and vice; and it is subtle both to understand and to be understood, and it is exceedingly transparent and clear to be distinguished, and it is like coriander seed. And agriculturists say that the seed of the coriander is capable of being cut up, and if sown in each separate piece and fragment, it shoots up just as much as the whole seed could do. Such also is the Logos of God, being profitable both in its entirety and also in every part, even if it be ever so small. . . . There is a certain peculiarity which is attached to this Logos. For when it calls the soul to itself, it excites a congealing power in everything which is earthly, or corporeal, or under the influence of the external senses. On which account it is said to be "like the hoar-frost on the earth." . . . "This is the bread, the food which God has given for the soul," explaining that God has brought it His own Logos and His own reason; for this bread which He has given us to eat is this Logos of His . . .⁹

And again: God nourishes us with His own Logos, which is the most universal of all things, for manna, being interpreted, means "what?" and "what" is the most universal

⁷ I Cor. 15: 47-48.

⁸ Exodus 16: 4.

⁹ *Legum Allegoriarum liber* III, 59, 60.

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of all things; for the Logos of God is over all the world, and is the most ancient, and the most universal of all the things that are created. . . . Therefore let God enjoin the soul, saying to it that "Man shall not live by bread alone," speaking in a figure, "but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God," that is to say, he shall be nourished by the whole Logos of God, and by every portion of it.¹⁰

IV.

It is impossible not to be struck with the very remarkable similarity, both in word and in spirit, between these passages of Philo and the passages which form the keynote of the central portion of the fourth gospel: "Our fathers ate manna in the wilderness; as it is written, He gave them bread out of heaven to eat. Jesus therefore said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, It was not Moses that gave you the bread out of heaven; but my Father giveth you the true bread out of heaven. For the bread of God is that which cometh down out of heaven, and giveth life unto the world. . . . I am the bread which came down out of heaven."

We may say, therefore, that this comparison fully bears out the widely held view, that the Logos doctrine in the fourth gospel is by no means confined to the Prologue, but that, on the contrary, it runs through the whole gospel; and that this is in a marked degree true of the central teaching which forms the heart of the fourth gospel: the teaching concerning Jesus, as the bread which came down out of heaven.

The fourth gospel, in its closing section, the narrative of the Crucifixion with the events immediately before and after, does not, it is true, record the institution of the Last Supper; but the whole narrative of its institution is implied in the words: "the disciple whom Jesus loved,

¹⁰ Ibid., 61.

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which also leaned back on his breast at the supper, and said, Lord, who is he that betrayeth thee?" (John 21: 20). It is probable that a page or two of the manuscript was lost, just as the last page of Mark was lost. But, as has often been pointed out, the Sacrament of the Body and Blood is already implied in the central portion of the fourth gospel, that which has as keynote "the bread which came down from heaven"; and that, indeed, the mystical sense of this Sacrament is the inspiration of the whole of the fourth gospel; and without doubt this is largely the truth.

But if we find, as we have found, that the identification of the bread which came down from heaven with the Logos is already fully developed in Philo, and in what may almost be called a sacramental sense, then it is evident that the influence of Philo's thought on the fourth gospel goes far beyond the Prologue; that it runs through what is the central and inspiring passage of the whole work.

V.

There are certain other passages of Philo which have a bearing on the general conception of the life and work of Jesus. One is found in the treatise on the *Worse plotting against the Better*. It depicts the Logos, not as the Creator, nor as the bread from heaven, but as the Saviour of sinners. The passage is as follows: Let us, therefore, address our supplications to God, we who are self-convicted by our consciousness of our own sins, to chastise us rather than to abandon us; for if He abandons us, He will no longer make us His servants, who is a merciful Master, but slaves of a pitiless generation; but if He chastises us in a gentle and merciful manner, as a kind ruler, He will correct our offences, sending that correcting conviction, His own Logos, into our hearts, by means of

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which He will heal them; reproving us and making us ashamed of the wickedness which we have committed.¹¹

The Logos is, therefore, the Redeemer, the Good Physician. He is also the Mediator, the Advocate with the Father. In the treatise on *Who is the Heir of Divine Things*, Philo writes: And the Father, Who created the universe, has given to His archangelic and most ancient Logos a pre-eminent gift—to stand on the confines of both, and separate that which was created from the Creator. And this same Logos is continually a Suppliant to the immortal God on behalf of the mortal race, which is exposed to affliction and misery; and is also the Ambassador, sent by the Ruler of all to the subject race. And the Logos rejoices in the gift, and, exulting in it, announces it and boasts of it, saying, “And I stood in the midst between the Lord and you.”¹²

It is evident that, in the image of the Ambassador sent by the Father to mankind, we are coming very close to the thought of the Incarnation of the Logos. Philo does not, I think, fully reach that idea, but he does reach the idea of the Logos manifested in a visible, and one may say an apparitional human form, in such a passage as this: Why then do we any longer wonder, if God at times assumes the likeness of the angels (or, Messengers) as He sometimes assumed even that of men, for the sake of assisting those who address their entreaties to Him? So that when He says, “I am the God who was seen by thee in the place of God” (Genesis, 31: 13; in LXX.-A. V.: “I am the God of Beth-el”), we must understand this, that He on that occasion took the place of an angel (Messenger), as far as appearance went, without changing His own real nature, for the advantage of him who was not, as yet, able to bear the sight of the true God; for as those who are not able to look upon the sun itself, look upon the reflected rays of the sun as the sun itself, and upon

¹¹ *Quod deterius potiori insidiari soleat*, 40.

¹² *Quis Rerum Divinarum haeres*, 42.

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the halo around the moon as if it were the moon itself; so also do those who are unable to bear the sight of God look upon His image, His angel (Messenger) Logos, as Himself.¹³

One phrase more, which brings us back to the Prologue of the fourth gospel, is found in Philo's treatise on the *Confusion of Tongues*, as a comment on the passage Zechariah 6: 12, which is translated, in our Authorized Version: "Behold the man whose name is The Branch"; the Hebrew word being *tsemach*, "a sprout." But Philo, following the Septuagint, read *anatolē onoma autou*, "his name is the East." Reading thus, he made this beautiful comment: I have also heard of one of the companions of Moses having uttered such a speech as this: "Behold a man whose name is the East!" a very novel appellation indeed, if you consider it as spoken of a man who is compounded of body and soul; but if you look upon it as applied to that incorporeal being who in no respect differs from the divine image, you will then agree that the name of the East has been given to him with great felicity. For the Father of the universe has caused him to spring up as the Eldest Son, whom, in another passage, He calls the Firstborn. . . .¹⁴

It is of high interest to note that the passage of Zechariah which Philo here identifies with the Logos is traditionally understood in a Messianic sense; thus the chapter-heading speaks of "the kingdom of Christ the Branch"; and, while this particular passage does not happen to be quoted, as a Messianic prophecy, in the New Testament, other quite similar passages from Zechariah are so quoted, as for instance: "Behold thy King cometh . . . lowly, and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of an ass" (Zech. 9: 9).

Philo's words: "the Eldest Son, the Firstborn," bring us back to the Prologue of the fourth gospel: "We beheld

¹³ *De Somniis*, 41.

¹⁴ *De Confusione Linguarum*, 14.

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his glory, glory as of the only begotten from the Father"; thus completing the picture of the Logos as the Creator, the Mediator, the Advocate, the Firstborn Son of the Father, the Bread from Heaven. The fourth gospel not only explicitly identifies Jesus as the Incarnation of the Logos, but brings out each of these characters, and most of all, as the central inspiration, that of the Bread from Heaven, in the full sacramental sense.

VI.

We come now to the question of dates. The most definite evidence as to the age of Philo is the sentence at the beginning of his account of the embassy to Rome, when he describes himself pathetically thus: "We, who are aged men . . . being indeed as to our bodies gray-headed through the length of time that we have lived. . . ." This embassy to Caligula took place in the year 40 A. D., or, if we accept the traditional date, seven years after the Crucifixion. And Philo was then, as he says, an aged man, gray headed. We may conjecture that he was born about 20 B. C., a conjecture generally accepted. Further, the closest critics of his works think that those which we have most largely quoted, beginning with the treatises on the *Creation* and on the *Allegories of the Sacred Laws*, were finished before the year 15 A. D.¹⁵

The picture, therefore, of the Logos, as the Creator, Redeemer, Mediator, the Bread from Heaven, was already completed in the boyhood of Jesus; and we may believe that, at that time, the Apostle John was still a child.

I have tried to show, in an earlier essay on *Paul and*

¹⁵ *Philologus*, Supplement vol. vii, Leipzig, 1899: L. Cohn, "*Einteilung und Chronologie der Schriften Philo's*," page 426, note 47.

Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, liii, Paris, 1906: Massebieau, "*Chronologie de la Vie et des Œuvres de Philon*," page 37.

Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium*.

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Philo, first, that Paul was thoroughly familiar with the general teaching of Philo, and with the special teaching concerning the Logos as Saviour, Mediator and Advocate; second, that Paul had early imbibed this teaching, whether in his own Tarsus, or at Jerusalem, at the feet of Gamaliel, or, as is likely, both in Tarsus and in Jerusalem; third, that Paul, while closely following Philo's thought, rarely uses Philo's key words; so that he may very likely have absorbed Philo's ideas through another language: let us say, from lectures delivered at Jerusalem, in Aramaic, or popular Hebrew; and, fourth, that Paul completely identifies Jesus with the Logos as Saviour, Redeemer, Mediator, in letters which belong, roughly, to the years 50-60 A. D. The probability is, that Paul became familiar with Philo, before he came into touch with the teachings concerning Jesus. When he did come into touch with these teachings, there was ready, in the mind of Paul, the image of the spiritual universe; of the Logos, as son of the Father, as Mediator and Redeemer; as a form, or formula, let us say, by which he could explain and express the immense spiritual reality which overwhelmed him on the Damascus road. And what is true of Paul, is equally true of any young Hebrew of Paul's time and age, who had similar opportunities of coming into touch with the ideas of the greatest Hebrew doctor of that epoch.

VII.

If the essential ideas of Philo's system, and the books containing them, were, as we have seen, in all likelihood completed by the year 15 A. D., there is no reason at all why they should not, in the next ten or fifteen years, have found their way, whether in Greek, or in a popular Hebrew translation, to every great centre of Jewish thought and study, from Alexandria to Tarsus, from Babylon to Rome or even Carthage and Spain. There

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was a constant arterial circulation throughout the whole Jewish world, a tendency among all pious Jews to find their way, at regular intervals, to the heart of their nation, the Temple on Mount Moriah, and then back again to their far-scattered homes. Paul's journeyings and repeated returns to the Temple are typical of his whole nation in this. Further, Greek was current, as a second tongue, throughout the whole of what had been the kingdoms of Alexander's generals, and therefore from Tarsus to Alexandria, as well as at Rome. Many learned Jews, like the authors of the later Apocrypha, like Philo, like Josephus, like Paul himself, wrote and read by preference in Greek. At Jerusalem even, Greek must have been quite currently spoken. It was in Greek that Paul spoke, under the very shadow of the Temple, to the Roman military tribune, Claudius Lysias. In all likelihood, the famous question of Pontius Pilate was asked in Greek. For there is no reason, humanly speaking, why Jesus may not have been familiar with Greek. We know that he must have had a high reputation as a learned Rabbi, since we find him reading and expounding in the synagogues, and ceaselessly teaching in the Temple. There is no reason, therefore, humanly speaking, why Jesus Himself may not have been familiar with the leading ideas of Philo, if these ideas were, as seems highly probable, current throughout the Jewish world, including Jerusalem, for some ten or fifteen years before the opening of Jesus' mission. Two accepted facts confirm the currency of Philo's teaching: that it was so completely in harmony with the Rabbinical method of exegesis at that time, and that Philo was chosen, as the representative man of his nation, to visit the Roman Emperor, to lay before him the grievances of the Jews; this, as we have seen, within a decade of the Crucifixion.

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VIII.

There were, therefore, in the minds of studious Jews, several forms, or formulas, by which they might try to interpret to themselves, and to others, the immense spiritual fact with which they came in contact, in the person and life of the Master Jesus. There was the more national Messianic formula, based on the great chapters of the Prophets, the formula to which we owe the title, "Christ," the Greek equivalent of Messiah. There was also the more universal formula of the Logos, developed by the greatest of the Jewish doctors, Philo of Alexandria, and widely current, in all likelihood, in the years immediately preceding the mission of Jesus. One did not exclude the other. Paul, in fact, adopted both, thinking of Jesus at once as the Messiah, the Christ, and as the incarnate Logos. Had he been familiar with the philosophy of ancient India, he might have expressed the person and life of Jesus in terms of the Avatar doctrine, or thought of Jesus as an Awakened One, a "Buddha," just as he already thought of him as the "Anointed One." Had he been familiar with Persia, he would have seen, in Jesus, the Saviour promised by Zoroaster, as, in fact, one of the Apocryphal Gospels does see him. Had he been familiar with the older philosophy of Egypt, he might have found there an analogous expression. It was a question, not of defining the person and work of Jesus, in the sense of limiting Him to this or that formula; it was a question of finding some way to express the tremendous spiritual power which Jesus represented and embodied, a power felt to transcend all experience, all known measure; and for which therefore divine and universal terms were sought, and rightly sought. It is an illustration of the vast reach and depth of the power of Jesus, that the association with Him of the title Christ has stretched that title to a far wider and deeper meaning than that of the Messiah of the Jews, though it was orig-

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inally used as an exact translation of Messiah. As Jesus has proven Himself to be universal, the title "Christ" has come to have a universal sense.

IX.

It has long been felt that the fourth gospel stands apart, in a certain sense, from the other three. Is not this to a large degree due to the fact that, while the writers of the first three had ready in their minds only one formula to express their sense of the majesty and depth of the person and work of Jesus, that, namely, of the Messiah of the Jews; the writer of the fourth gospel had, besides, the other formula, that of the Logos, as developed by the great Jewish doctor?

And here the vital question arises: Does the application of this added formula necessarily imply a much later date?

Loisy expresses a widely held view, when he writes: ". . . les deux objections que la critique de nos jours a reprises, à savoir la nouveauté de la conception generale, de la théorie du Verbe incarné, et l'incompatibilité du cadre historique de Jean avec le cadre synoptique. . . ." ¹⁶ ". . . the two objections which the criticism of our days has taken up again, namely (I) the *newness* of the general conception, of the theory of the incarnated Word (Logos), and (II) the incompatibility of the historic framework of John with the Synoptic framework. . . ."

Leaving the second of these objections entirely out of consideration for the present, may it not be wise to ask ourselves again whether the general conception, the theory of the incarnated Logos, is really *new*, in the sense of belonging to a later date, when we remember that the Logos doctrine (and particularly as it is represented in the fourth gospel) was already fully developed, and, in all likelihood, very widely known, both in Greek and in

¹⁶ *Le Quatrième Evangile*, Introduction.

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popular Hebrew, not only within the lifetime of the first apostles, not only at the time of the mission of Jesus, but ten or fifteen years before that mission began. The simple application of that doctrine, of that ready-made formula, so to speak, to the person of Jesus, is not a question of time at all; it does not of necessity take any more time than did the application, to Jesus, of the other formula, that of the Messiah. For any disciple who had the Logos formula in his mind, its application to Jesus would be a matter only of a single moment of inspiration.

If this view be true, then it would seem to follow that, whatever reasons may exist for setting the fourth gospel apart from the other three, whether in time or in spirit, the *newness* of its general conception (the theory of the incarnated Logos) is not a valid reason,—for the simple reason that the conception is not new; it was in existence before the mission of Jesus; it was applied to Jesus by Paul, in what are held to be the very earliest of the Christian documents. So far as this one objection goes, it would seem true that the fourth gospel might have been written in the same year as the First Epistle to the Corinthians, which also contains fundamental ideas of Philo, applied to Christian teachings.

Presbyterianism and Catholic Unity¹

BY J. R. FLEMING, B. D. (EDIN.),

Melbourne, Australia.

“Presbyterianism,” said Matthew Arnold once, “is born to division as the sparks fly upward.” The statement has enough superficial truth to compel examination. It must frankly be allowed that the tendency within the system to separation and disruption has been fairly evident during the last three centuries. What is too often forgotten is that external intrusion has been more responsible than internal schism for this condition of things, and that the later trend has been as distinctly towards reunion as the earlier was towards an erratic independence.

To use a physiological term, the Presbyterian polity has been fissiparous, too fond of breaking up into separate forms of life. But then these various forms have marvellously preserved the family likeness. The propensity to divide has never meant departure from the common ideal. It has even appeared as if temporary dismemberment were necessary to the continued vitality and ultimate unity of the body. The history of Scotland, of America and of the British oversea dominions offer the most striking illustrations of this principle.

In Scotland the period of acute division may be said to extend from the signing of the Covenants to the mid-

¹The above is the substance of a lecture recently delivered in Melbourne, Australia, at the first Summer School of Theology in connection with the Presbyterian Church of Victoria.

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dle of the nineteenth century. Unquestionably it was State tyranny that provoked the first and most serious ruptures. The endeavours of the Stuart kings to force Episcopal government and ritual on an unwilling people absolutely prevented what might have been the peaceful evolution of a system including the best elements of the two polities. Thenceforth only a democratic development was possible and that meant, as it always does, much preliminary unrest. Nor could the iron hand of Cromwell achieve a settlement. In the strife between Resolutioners and Protesters we have the germ of all that followed, resulting in a long series of breaks (the Cameronian, the Secession, soon splitting up into Burgher and Anti-Burgher, the Relief, the Old and New Lights) culminating in the Disruption of 1843. The recent schism of the "Wee Frees" we can only view as the belated survival of a divisive spirit that had become practically obsolete. Almost immediately after the Disruption the forces making for unity began to assert themselves—in the blending of Secession and Relief, in the absorption of the Original Seceders and Reformed Presbyterians in the Free Church, in the movement for union between Free and United Presbyterian now happily consummated after an initial disappointment, and lastly in the irresistible momentum that is bringing together the United Free Church and the Established Church after the abolition of Patronage and the discovery of a *via media* between extreme voluntarism and the principle of national recognition of religion.

An American writer could better tell how the same process has been at work in his sphere, at first perpetuating needlessly divisions imported from Europe, allowing theological and political causes to bring about great "splits" as in 1837 between the Old and New Schools and in 1861 between North and South, but also how counteracting influences have gradually tended to heal the breaches of Zion, as in the great union of 1870, the

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inclusion of the Cumberland Presbyterians in the parent body and in the prospect now becoming clearer of Dutch Reformed and Southern Presbyterian leaving a position of isolation for one of comprehension. In Canada, Australia and New Zealand the children of Knox and the Covenanters now present a united front. The racial difficulties which have hitherto hindered the consolidation of South African Presbyterianism, so largely Dutch in character, are being rapidly overcome. A real and enduring unity is on the way to attainment by the bold policy of including various but not irreconcilable types within one broad evangelical fold. Of this the General Presbyterian Alliance, founded in 1877, is the visible symbol.

Not only is there nothing inherently divisive in the Presbyterian system—it adapts itself readily to a policy of linking up with other forms of Church organization. Leaving out of the question the controversy as to the respective merits of the Episcopate and the Presbyterate as historic starting points for reunion movements, it cannot well be denied that the latter has something to say for itself as a practical basis for discussion. At any rate it affords a platform on which Methodists and Congregationalists can find reasonable room, and the negotiations in Canada, with the less articulate Australian proposals in the same direction, certainly point to an advance of Presbyterianism along wider lines in which it does not fear a measure of self-effacement if that will secure larger life and usefulness. After all there are only three distinct types of Church government—the Independent, the Conciliar, and the Monarchical. Behind all these there is the idea of the Catholic Church more or less expressed. In the actual progress of Church history the types were at first indistinct, though they afterwards crystallized into definite contradictions and opposites. We are now feeling our way towards a harmony. It appears to be beyond our power yet to take the

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last step—to find out what in the monarchical principle there is of permanent value for inclusion in the final unity. But of that discovery we are not hopeless. Meanwhile we humbly stand upon what we have proved at least to be a good working and not a merely modern hypothesis, and we welcome conference with fellow-Christians still separated from us in matters of faith and order so that we may attain to the full synthesis for which all of us pray.

The question of polity presents the most obvious hindrance to unity, but it is by no means the only barrier. By many, Presbyterian doctrine and worship are deemed even more anti-catholic than Presbyterian government. The Westminster Standards of 1642-43 are objected to because of their rigid Calvinism, but after all they are just reasoned completions for the needs of a special time of previous and much older testimonies, and indeed are solidly based on the creeds of the primitive Church. Luther, Calvin and the more scholastic theologians who are responsible for the post-Reformation confessions were far more nearly at one than their successors have supposed. The Thirty-nine Articles of the Anglican Church, and the Canons of the Synod of Dort, with the more closely articulated creed of Westminster, are quite harmonious in all essentials. Nor does the latter stand as an absolute and permanent edition of the Presbyterian Belief. With the widening of religious thought in the second half of last century there came an increasing demand not for a new creed but for a more catholic interpretation of the old. That took shape in Declaratory Acts and Statements throughout the Presbyterian world, making evident that what was adhered to was the real substance of the Faith once delivered to the saints, liberty of opinion being allowed on things doubtful.

There was indeed a time when Presbyterians were less catholic in doctrine than now, when by undue emphasis on certain aspects of the truth they were some-

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what in danger of disturbing the balance and proportion of the whole. In this tendency they did not stand alone. It has been a necessary phase in the development of Christian dogma that Churches and schools of thought within Churches have been led to lay stress on points otherwise apt to be neglected and even denied. Herein lies the *raison d'être* of denominationalism. Without this over-insistence on parts it is hard to see how the truth in its entirety could have been saved for the future, and it so happened that the Presbyterian emphasis on the Divine election and sovereignty, the Doctrines of Grace, the spiritual independence of Christ's kingdom, and other things we associate especially with Calvinism, were of the utmost value for the moral strengthening and the salutary discipline of a rather unruly Christendom. And it is therefore now possible to pass on the element thus conserved, purified and softened perhaps, yet in its genuine and permanent quality, for the good of generations to come. But we have learned that other branches of the Holy Catholic Church have likewise held fast to that which was good, not only for themselves but for us, and that the time is fast coming for all to pool their different contributions into the common fund of a doctrinal variety in unity. A theology that has made nations and educated communities as Calvinism has done in the fear of God and the freedom of manhood has not yet exhausted its mission to the world.

What is the real test of catholicity in belief? Do we find it in adherence to the primitive Creeds—the Apostles' and the more fully defined Nicene symbol? These are embodied in the Presbyterian standards. It is suggested that we should take a longer range and include the teaching of the first six Christian centuries. That is to lay down a purely arbitrary limit and comes dangerously near putting an arrest on the progressive work of the Divine Spirit Who guides the Church into all the truth. To view catholic teaching as identical with any

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creeds of Church Councils or as shut up within any fixed era of Church history is to go very far towards denying one of the essential articles of the original Faith—"I believe in the Holy Ghost." With deeper insight than our fathers into the meaning of Revelation we have come to see that no creed based upon temporary theories of inspiration or passing philosophies can stand for ever as an authorized and infallible version of God's mind to man. To be catholic in doctrine is to be simple in statement and universal in appeal, with supreme emphasis on the historic Christ, His Person and Work, and on the experience of the common salvation.

But it may be said that our doctrine, sound in many respects, does not find full and worthy expression in our worship, and here again we do not grudge the acknowledgment that there has been a temporary falling away from catholic practice. We have no difficulty in proving that our unadorned ritual conforms far more closely to the earliest accounts of the Christian cultus than the elaborate ceremonial of later days, and we can point to Presbyterian worship for at least a century after the Reformation as illustrating a real continuity with primitive ways. What brought about a change for the worse in the seventeenth century was not the example of the first reformers but the revolt against Episcopal despotism, and the influence of extreme Puritanism in England. The Lord's Prayer came to be looked upon as a vain repetition; even the reading of Holy Scripture was frequently omitted from the ordinary services to allow more time for the too controversial pulpit discourses. We ceased to use the devotional treasures that had enriched the piety of centuries, to observe the seasons of the Christian year or to learn the inspiring lessons of the lives of the saints. The sacraments, if never depreciated, were too infrequently observed. And this backward movement was accelerated by the wave of coldness and formality that came after it. The ideas

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of beauty and reverence in connection with the public services of the sanctuary seemed to pass away from men's minds, and the effects of this period still abide with us in the barn-like buildings and bald type of worship that are pointed to as sure tokens of an uncatholic temper. But in truth this tendency was not confined to one church. It was apparent enough among Anglicans, notwithstanding the contrary influence of their ritual; it was part of the faithless coldness of the times and curiously came to be regarded as a proof of spirituality as well as to harden into a new and too binding tradition. Yet it had its good side and was perhaps necessary as a phase in our development. For when better days came we were able to take advantage of the movement towards a revival of catholic usage without being under any strong temptation to go back to those beggarly elements from which we had been thoroughly purified.

Our controversies as to forms and modes of worship are already shifting into the region of a forgotten past. The manifest leading of the Divine Spirit has brought the great majority of us into larger and fairer pastures. The worship of the Presbyterian Church to-day is steadily advancing along lines that make it catholic in the best sense of the word.

We are restoring the Communion Table and the Baptismal Font to their true position in the sanctuary, and even as ritual there is nothing so solemn in its way as a Presbyterian Sacrament reverently administered. By the due proportion of Old and New Testament lessons in the services we seek to present the completeness of Bible truth to the worshippers. We are abandoning our nervous fears of liturgical forms while we adhere to our legacy of free prayer. A combination of both is becoming our ideal for the future. Christmas and Easter have now their message for us as for the rest of Christendom. Hymns and instrumental aid are now very generally accepted, though we retain our special archaism in the

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rugged Psalter made sacred by use in days of struggle and testimony. And there are no signs that preaching, which has been our distinctive glory, suffers in any degree from the elevation of our worship.

Occupying as we do a middle position between the exclusively liturgical and the anti-liturgical Churches—those who make too much of ritual and those who make too little of it—it looks as if we had a mission of our own in relation to the public worship of the future, to be a kind of bridge-builder for the general good. No lesson is more important in this connection than that a really catholic devotion must make allowances for differences of temperament. Our experience has taught us that we must have varied types of religious service to meet varied needs. And this must be true of the Church as a whole. A catholic worship will belie its name if it fails in universal appeal—if it has not a message that can be low as well as high, if it does not stir the simple heart of the puritan as well as the aesthetic soul of the artist and the poet.

The Hope of Reunion

BY GILBERT WHITE, D.D.

Bishop of Willochra, South Australia.

An American writer has reminded us that Christ once said that if there were no human voices to testify to Him the very rocks would cry out. The air is full today of the sound of the bursting of iron shards, the upheaval of the solid ground, the clash of steel, the booming of cannon, the shattering of stone, the splintering of the very mountains, a groaning and a crying which comes from the very soil, the rocks and stones of distracted Europe. Is it that they are crying out that Christians have forgotten Christ?

Whenever we think of the hope of Reunion our minds must go back to the words of Christ's great prayer for Unity, words so in harmony with the spirit of His teaching, so impossible to imagine as invented, that we cannot doubt that they represent a genuine tradition of His utterance: "Neither pray I for these alone, but for them which shall believe on me through their word, that they may be all one, as thou, Father, art in me and I in thee, that they also may be one in us, that the world may believe that thou hast sent me." These words unveil for us the innermost sanctuary of the soul of Christ. We are permitted to see what He most thought and most cared about. His mind passes from His immediate environment of the little band of weak, yet faithful and loving, friends by whom He is surrounded to the ever growing multitude of those who, by their means, will be brought into His Church and made members of His body as the

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years go on. He knows human nature and He recognizes at once the chief peril of the future, and, Himself about to give His life upon the cross for His Church, He prays with all the earnestness of a supreme conviction, with all the intensity of the Divine Will that they may be one. This unity for which He prays is no artificial, no superficial, no mere conventional unity. He prays that they may be one with a unity the most profound, the most universal, the most absolute that it is possible to conceive, a unity that has but one thought, one purpose and one will. He prays that "they may be all one, as thou, Father, art in me and I in thee." No higher or more real unity can be conceived of; it is unity on the pattern of that which exists in the Godhead itself which Christ desires for His Church. But there is a yet further step in Christ's conception of unity. The unity of the Church is not to be merely on the lines of, to be an imitation of, the unity of the Godhead, it is to be an organic unity with it also. Christ prays the Father that "they may also be one in us" that the members of the Church may be not only united in absolute oneness with each other, but united also in their oneness with the Godhead itself.

The dazzling ideal which Christ here holds out to His Church would pass belief and comprehension were it not clear that this vision is no mere inaccessible dream. It is regarded by Christ Himself as capable of realization and it is the supreme and final desire of His heart that it should in fact be realized. It is the knowledge that Christ believed that the idea of Union was realizable and that His whole will and desire is on the side of its realization that gives us strength to believe in and labour for Union in the face of so many failures and disillusion. What Christ believes in and what Christ wants cannot be impossible. "That the world may believe that thou hast sent me." Christ seems here to tell us that the world will never believe in Him and His Divine Mission until such time as the Christian Church unites to preach Him.

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If this be so what a tremendous incentive is it to unity! Our unhappy divisions are not merely one of the causes why the world rejects Christ. They are the cause, the one abiding and all sufficient cause, and we can never hope for a Christian world until we have a united Church. If this be true how great and how strange is the error of those who praise and uphold the divisions of Christendom as "provoking one another to good works," as "ministering to different temperaments and types of character," as "conserving valuable particular traditions," as "tending to protect interests that it is right to conserve," as "avoiding any too great concentration of power, which might foster ecclesiasticism or autocracy," as "securing that special sides of religious truth should have an adequate representation" and so on. Of what force are all these objections to unity if unity is the only means by which the world can become Christian?

This thought is enormously reinforced by the world-war among Christian nations. However much we may be convinced that it was a just and Christian act for our particular nation to enter upon the war in defence of justice, right, and freedom, yet we know very well that the war as a whole is a negation of Christian teaching. It shows that a large proportion of nominal Christians have rejected the teaching of Christ, and that the Christian Church has been powerless to prevent action, which is on a gigantic scale contrary to all its principles. If we ask why the Christian Church was powerless to prevent a fratricidal war between Christian nations there can be but one answer. It was because it was disunited. It seems impossible to believe that if Christians had been united they could not have prevented the rise of those conditions which made war inevitable.

How can Reunion be accomplished? It cannot be by a general surrender of convictions, because convictions are exactly the element in Christians and in the Christian Church that is of the deepest and greatest value. A

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United Church made up of persons with no particular convictions would be an object only for pity and contempt. We seem to be in danger of falling into a vicious circle. Convictions are of supreme importance, but you cannot have unity unless you are prepared to sacrifice convictions, and if you sacrifice convictions you destroy the value of unity. Now if Christ really believed in unity and if He really desired it there must be some way out of this apparent dilemma.

I feel bound to hold to my convictions, and to act upon them at any cost, because I believe that they represent the truth, but others hold contradictory convictions, and I have to admit that they are just as honest about their convictions as I am about mine. How do I know that they are wrong and that I am right? Obviously I do not know. Any argument founded on the fact that they are my beliefs and therefore true is obviously invalid, for my neighbour can say just the same. There remains only the argument from authority. Those beliefs, whether mine or not, are most likely to be true which are and have been believed by the largest number of persons and also by the best qualified persons who have directed their attention to them. In the matter of Christian belief and practice this body is the Catholic Church in the widest sense of that term. The preponderating weight is thrown into the scale by the best qualified Christians, best qualified that is by knowledge, practice and character, and the weight of their opinion is increased in proportion to their number. Due weight must, however, be allowed to the minority in proportion to their number and qualifications. It may be objected that this puts aside the Divine guidance of the Church, but surely all œcumenical councils have proceeded on the assumption that the will of the Holy Spirit is shown by the majority vote of duly qualified persons. It is taken as a proof of the work of the Holy Spirit that so many qualified persons do agree about a matter.

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We are still left with a contradiction of convictions either between equal numbers on either side (in which case the argument from authority does not disappear though it becomes retrospective, i.e. historical), or between majorities and minorities.

Can we not, however, while acknowledging the value of authority past or present, and giving it the full weight it deserves, secure a more immediate and working compromise, a common *locus standi* on which we may agree for the present in a provisional way?

Suppose we all ask ourselves the question, Why is it that my good Christian neighbour holds beliefs which I vigorously repudiate? May it not be that I have overlooked some serious truth that underlies his convictions? Why is it that I cannot persuade him of the truth of that which I hold so dear? May it not be that I am exaggerating the importance of my belief, truth though it be, am dragging it out of its place in the proportion of truth and so far making it, to a certain extent at least, untrue to the whole?

For example, I cannot see that it is right or in accordance with the spirit of the Anglican Church to reserve the Sacrament for the purpose of worshipping Christ in that Reserved Sacrament. It seems to me to be uncatholic, to be a practice unknown to the Christian Church, and even to the Roman branch of it, for a thousand years, and to be based in the modern Roman Church on a false mediaeval philosophy. I do see, however, in many who adopt this practice, whether they be Romans or Anglicans, a burning devotion to our Blessed Lord, a spirit of meditation and prayer, which often puts quite to shame the calmer, and, as I believe, saner exercises of those who reject this devotion. Or again it seems to me to be absolutely wrong for a Christian to ignore the Sacraments ordained by Christ Himself. I cannot see how anyone calling himself a Christian can presume to attempt to live without and apart from sacramental

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grace, yet on the other hand the spirituality, devotion and self-sacrifice of many who do thus live, and their passionate realization of at least a very essential part of Christ's message to the world often completely put to shame the coldness, caution and self-conservation of some of those who firmly believe in, and reverently accept, the gifts of sacramental grace.

These considerations, however, will not carry us very far, even if we realize their truth far more widely than we do at present, unless there exists a body of truth that we hold in common sufficiently large to make the points of difference, not of course really, but yet comparatively, unimportant, and therefore capable in time of being mutually modified by those who are at one about the greater matters.

Is there such a mass of common agreement as to faith and order as to make Reunion so far possible that the natural influences of men on one another in softening asperities and misunderstandings may get to work without let or hindrance? That such a process may accomplish much may be seen, for example, in the remarkable dying down of party feeling in the Anglican Church both in England and Australia during the last twenty-five years. That such a common basis for agreement does exist and that it is sufficiently large to form a solid ground for mutual conference and explanation, and possibly for a large measure of future Reunion, is the conviction of those who have taken part in the preliminaries of the World Conference on Faith and Order and a brief reference may be made to some of the facts which seem to support such a belief.

The Archbishop of Melbourne has given in a recent number of *THE CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY*¹ an account of the negotiations between the Anglicans and Presbyterians in Australia some years ago. These negotiations re-

¹See March 1917.

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vealed a quite surprising amount of agreement on almost all vital questions.

The North American Preparatory Conference of the World Conference on Faith and Order meeting in 1916 did not indeed deal directly with disputed questions, but it showed how widespread was the interest in the World Conference and with what unanimity it was possible to deal with its preliminary problems.

In June 1914 the Archbishops' Committee in England met representatives of the Free Churches and together appointed a sub-committee to prepare a tentative statement of agreements and differences. The sub-committee reported in February 1916 and their report is an admirable example of what can be done.

The "Basis of Unity of the United Church of Canada" referred to by Rev. Herbert Kelly in the September, 1917, issue of *THE CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY* and his comments thereon, from a very different ecclesiastical standpoint, is also an interesting example of the possibilities of reunion.

I wish in addition to these instances to call attention to a particular step towards closer union within the Anglican Church in Australia. Although it is only a domestic matter yet it affords a striking instance of the power of the forces of reunion, and although it is concerned only with the Church of England yet the relations with which it is concerned, namely, those of Catholic and Protestant feeling, are the same in principle as the questions which for the most part divide Christendom as a whole. The step to which I refer is connected with the reform of the Australian Board of Missions of the Anglican Church and its extension so as to include within it the Church Missionary Society of Australia.

The Australian Board of Missions was founded in 1850 and consisted solely of the Bishops, a body that very rarely met in this capacity. Practically it delegated its authority to an Executive Council elected at the quin-

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quennial meetings of the General Synod. The Board was thus formally the Church in its Missionary capacity, and in its practical management reflected the opinions of the majority of the members of the Church. It cannot be said that for many years the Board displayed any very overpowering missionary zeal or energy, but about twenty-five years ago, in addition to its meagre work among the aborigines and some help it was giving to the Melanesian Mission, it undertook the New Guinea Mission and began to expand steadily. For some ten years its income did not exceed £6,000 per annum but it then began to rise rapidly, reaching £11,000 in 1912 and £18,500 in 1917. The view point of the majority of the members of General Synod and therefore of the Australian Board of Missions may be described as mildly Catholic since one must use some word to denote differences of outlook. The Australian Board of Missions could never at any time have been described as a party society, but the fact that, as the missionary society of the Church as a whole, it was also supported by a few men of extremer views caused it to be regarded with a certain amount of suspicion by the Australian Evangelical party which was numerically comparatively small but full of zeal. A branch of the English Church Missionary Society was formed which devoted itself primarily to Foreign Missions though it also undertook some work among the local Chinese and the Aborigines. Such energy and devotion did the Church Missionary Society throw into its work that in a short time the amount raised by it equalled and surpassed the amount raised by the Australian Board of Missions. This success of the Church Missionary Society was no doubt mainly due to its excellent organization, to the stress it laid on individual responsibility and effort and to the devotion and enthusiasm of its members, and also a little perhaps to the fact that its constitution is on a definitely party basis, a fact which must be borne in mind in reference to what followed.

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This divided attitude of the Australian Church towards its missionary work had long been a source of anxiety and regret to many of its more thoughtful members. It was felt that we could not with a good grace press reunion on others while we were ourselves giving an example of internal discord. Then there was the danger that party feeling might at any time, on the one side or the other, boil over in connection with some point of missionary work and bring discredit on the whole Church in regard to a matter on which she should be especially united. Finally our missionary work was rapidly growing, and if ever union was to be attempted it seemed that it should be attempted before vested interests became too strong and separatist traditions too deeply impressed. It was clear that the constitution of the Board of Missions left much to be desired and its long needed reform seemed to offer an opportunity for attempting at the same time a closer union with our fellow churchmen who were working entirely outside the Board.

In September 1913 a Church Congress was held at Brisbane and the opportunity was taken by one of the bishops to raise the subject and to submit a suggested draft constitution for the consideration of the Church.

The scheme was not received with any very great enthusiasm. The Church Missionary Society were very much afraid of anything that might hamper their liberty or bring their work under the too direct control of the Church at large, while very many members of the Australian Board of Missions regarded the proposal with suspicion as conceding too much to a voluntary association with an avowedly party constitution. The issue was complicated by the fact that the *ex officio* President of the Australian Board of Missions, who was also the Chairman and a staunch supporter of the Church Missionary Society, strongly advocated the plan prevailing in England, and suggested that the Australian Board of Missions should cease to do any active missionary work

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and should become a mere clearing house for missionary work in general, while in its place a party society on parallel lines to the Church Missionary Society should be established by those whose views were of a more "Catholic" character, so that the whole work of the Church should, as in England, be on Society lines. This view was, however, strongly opposed by the majority, who felt that it would be fatal to any ultimate hope of reunion.

Many criticisms of the scheme were received, some friendly, and some hostile. Generally speaking, that part of the Determination which referred to the reorganization of the Australian Board of Missions was approved, but the idea of including the Church Missionary Society under the Board of Missions was held to be quite impracticable. A meeting of the Australian bishops was held at Sydney in May 1916, and among other business a draft of the proposed changes in the Australian Board of Missions was submitted to them. It was at once evident that there were serious differences of opinion with regard to it, and the only point which was clearly settled was that the suggestion of the adoption of the English Society system was rejected by a large majority. The whole matter was referred to a committee consisting of the Archbishops of Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane, and the Bishops of Willochra and Gippsland, for consideration and report. This committee met in Melbourne a month later to see if it were possible to arrive at any final arrangement.

Appearances were all unfavourable. Two of the members of the committee were strongly for the Church Missionary Society and two were as clearly pledged to the Australian Board of Missions. The fifth member, the Archbishop of Melbourne, was in favour of the Australian Board of Mission but possessed of a calm and unprejudiced mind. But it was obviously no question of a mere majority. The Bishops, even if agreed, could do nothing by themselves. They could at most make a recom menda-

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tion to General Synod, which alone had power to settle the question. Nothing could be accomplished by any compromise which left an unsatisfied minority. Nothing could be done unless, contrary to all expectation, a formula could be devised upon which all could agree, and in view of the strong feeling on either side it seemed very improbable that such a result could be arrived at. Both sides were equally determined to uphold what they regarded as principles of vital importance and neither was likely to be influenced by mere appeals to sentiment.

The committee met after most earnest prayer for the guidance of the Holy Spirit and to that alone I attribute the success, the unexpected and surprising success of the meeting. The members of the committee did succeed in arriving at a compromise which was subsequently accepted by all the Bishops and afterwards passed, practically without alteration, by General Synod. It is needless to say that this result was not arrived at by the committee without many searchings of heart, and without real sacrifices on both sides for what was felt to be the predominantly important cause of reunion. It was felt by both sides equally that the convictions of the other side must be met by all possible non-vital concessions and the concessions were fairly and equally made. The desire for unity accomplished what perhaps no other force could have accomplished, making men yield in the matter of preferences and opinions which were deep and lifelong. There is no doubt that the knowledge of the fact that the bishops had arrived at a concordat made the passage of the Determination through General Synod possible. The main provisions of that part of the Determination which alone concerns us here are as follows:

9. The Board may recognize Missions or Missionary Societies as Agencies of the Church in her missionary work in connection with the Board. The Church Missionary Society of Australia and Tasmania shall be deemed to be so recognized. Missions or Missionary Societies so recognized shall have power to vary their respective Constitutions from time to time, provided that such variation shall not be

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inconsistent with this Determination, and may form, appoint, or arrange for the appointment of Associations, Committees, or Branches throughout the Commonwealth of Australia. Such Agencies shall work under their respective Constitutions, with power to create organizations for the purpose of raising funds and otherwise furthering their work, and the Board shall not have any right to dispose of or to administer such funds unless asked to do so by the Agency concerned, and may participate in the management of its internal affairs only when invited so to do. A statement of such funds so raised in any Diocese shall be furnished annually to the Diocesan Missionary Committee, and shall be published by the Board, and a Report of the work undertaken and the Missionaries maintained shall be sent each year to the Board for publication. Such Agencies shall recognize the authority of the Diocesan Missionary Committee in the arrangement of Missionary campaigns.

10. Nothing in this Determination shall be held to limit the rights of a Bishop in his own Diocese.

11. All missionaries shall hold the license or authority of the Bishop in whose Diocese they work as Missionaries.

14. All disputes arising in any Diocese concerning Missionary work under this Determination shall be decided by the Diocesan Missionary Committee subject to an appeal to the Board, whose decision shall be final.

15. Any Agency which has raised annually in Australia and Tasmania during the previous period of five years, exclusive of office expenses, an average sum of over £5,000 shall be entitled at the time of each ordinary session of the General Synod or within one month thereafter to elect one clerical or one lay representative on the Board; one raising over £10,000 one clerical and one lay representative, and one over £20,000 three representatives, of whom one at least shall be a layman.

It will be seen from these provisions that the Church Missionary Society gains, firstly, the definite recognition of the whole Church for its work, and secondly, the right to enter any diocese (subject, of course, to the permission of the parish priest in his own parish), while at the same time it is left free to administer its own funds and to adhere to its own organization. It is also given extra representation on the Board in proportion to the amount of funds that it raises.

On the other hand the Church Missionary Society admits that the Australian Board of Missions is *the* missionary organization of the Church and that the Church Missionary Society is not an independent body but "an agency of the Church in her missionary work in connec-

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tion with the Board of Missions." The phrase is an awkward one and bears evident marks of being the result of a compromise but it expresses the fact with sufficient clearness. In the second place it is admitted that the Australian Board of Missions is the final court of appeal in any disputes which may occur with regard to missionary work in connection with any of the dioceses. The Australian Board Mission considered that these principles were so important that they were worth the many and great concessions made to Church Missionary Society feeling.

We feel at last that all our missionary work is recognized as being one and is on the way to become one. We recognize that the Church Missionary Society ideal of individual initiative is an important side of missionary effort and one that some of us are sometimes tempted to overlook, and we look forward confidently to the future to draw us nearer. We feel that the causes which tend to disunion have been largely removed and that time will now work for more mutual knowledge and a better understanding.

The first meeting of the Board under the new Determination was held at Sydney on October 25th and 26th, 1917. The Church Missionary Society was represented by seven members out of thirty-five. The utmost harmony prevailed and not a word of party or personal import marred the meeting. It was resolved to mark the happy reunion of missionary work by an appeal for 1918 for an income of £40,000 for missions from the Church in Australia, £20,000 for the Australian Board of Missions and £20,000 for the Church Missionary Society.

Of course it is not to be supposed that no difficulties will ever again arise; but we feel that we are one and I believe that we are all determined to remain one and to make the Australian Board of Missions really representative of the missionary interest of every section of the Church.

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All this is, as I have said, merely a domestic matter, but it is, I think, an omen (and it may even to some extent be an example) for that wider union not only of missionary effort but of religious life and thought for which we all long and pray.

Reminiscences of Professor A. B. Davidson

BY SIR ROBERT FALCONER, K.C.M.G., LL.D.,

President of the University of Toronto

Andrew Bruce Davidson, who died in the year 1902, was one of the most influential professors of theology in Scotland in the nineteenth century. He lived a retired life devoting himself almost exclusively to the study of the Semitic languages and the Interpretation of the Old Testament with the practical purpose of training students for the ministry of what was then the Free Church of Scotland. The fact that, in spite of his comparatively restricted sphere of activity and the small amount that he published during his lifetime, he touched very powerfully wide circles far beyond his own students is evidence of the remarkable individuality of the man. He had of course an intellect of the first order, penetrating, sincere, imaginative, and a delicate and sure literary judgment, but no less unusual was his pure religious faith. These qualities, blending in fine proportion in a singularly modest and unselfish disposition, created a character which for forty years fascinated generation after generation of students, among whom were some of the most distinguished graduates of the Scottish universities during that period. My sole justification for writing this article lies in the readiness that any student should possess to acknowledge upon challenge his indebtedness to a great teacher. Of that debt to Dr. Davidson I have been constantly reminded for more than a quarter of a century by his portrait on my study wall, but I do not profess to

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be able to explain its magnitude by the few reminiscences of these pages and by the extracts from the notes which I took from his lectures.

Davidson fitted exactly into his environment. As he stepped forth from the gate of the New College in Edinburgh, keen of face, his spectacled eyes fixed in thought, attired in conventional clerical dress, he seemed to belong to that severely ecclesiastical pile of buildings. But there was nothing in him of the masterful or shrewd ecclesiastic. He would often stop to touch a child on the head or move it gently out of his way.

The New College occupies a commanding site at the head of the Mound overlooking Princes Street, and on a bright spring or summer day the view is probably unsurpassed in any city in Europe. The pride and glory of the Scottish capital lie spread before one; beyond is the Firth of Forth, and hills and distant mountains fill in the background. A few steps past the college is the entrance to the Castle on the rock which rises in the midst of the city sheer from the gardens at its base. Any day could be heard the pipes of a highland regiment marching from the Castle on its way past St. Giles down the High Street to Holyrood. Above the college quadrangle the spire of the Church of Scotland Assembly Hall pierces the sky and the massive old Arts building of the University is distant some ten minutes' walk. The New College, handsome but rather cold, unrelieved by foliage or internal gardens and without the softness and antiquity that invest an Oxford or Cambridge college with charm, is set in the very heart of Scottish history, tradition, religion and art. Founded by the Free Church of Scotland after the Disruption, it is a dignified school for high-thinking students for whom life is real and earnest, and has had in its comparatively short history some eminent professors—Cunningham, Candlish, Rainy, Davidson, Dods, not to mention any who hold chairs at present. As the leading theological college of the Church it had more students than

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any of its sister institutions and drew a large number of graduates from the colonies, the United States and Protestant Europe outside Germany. The course of study was long: indeed it is doubtful whether a more thorough training was demanded of theological students anywhere. No professor could ask for better material than was to be found in its class rooms, but unfortunately, owing chiefly to the manner in which appointments to the teaching-staff were made in the open Assembly, there were too many professors who could not do the best for the students who came to them. The ecclesiastic, beset with fear of heresy, considers safety first in choosing a professor, little realizing that as a rule it is the "safe" but dull man who creates a restless spirit among able students, who may always be counted upon to absorb the most recent literature and historical criticism, and who under incompetent professors, becoming their own guides, are, partly by way of reaction, likely to adopt far more extreme views than they would have accepted under the direction of genuine scholars and thinkers. One other name must be mentioned with respect and affection by all who were in the classes of the New College in the later years of Dr. Davidson's life, that of Dr. Marcus Dods, who held the chair of New Testament Exegesis, and who set wide open great stores of learning for his students who were also his friends.

During his lifetime Dr. Davidson did not publish very much. There is an early but unfinished commentary on *Job*; and editions in the "Cambridge Bible" of *Job*, *Ezekiel*, *Nahum*, *Habakkuk* and *Zephaniah*; the *Epistle to the Hebrews* in "Handbooks for Bible Classes"; also articles in "*The Encyclopædia Britannica*" and Hastings' "*Dictionary of the Bible*"; and contributions to most of the leading theological magazines, together with his well-known *Introductory Hebrew Grammar* and *Hebrew Accents*. Since his death two volumes of Sermons, *The Called of God* and *Waiting Upon God*, and a series of *Biblical Essays* have appeared; also lectures entitled *Old Testament Prophecy*,

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and the *Theology of the Old Testament* which had been long advertised in the "International Theological Library." The volume of posthumous lectures has been severely criticized by reason of the lack of discrimination shown in including what was not intended by Davidson to be published, as indeed several sections represent earlier and outgrown stages in his thought. Even his *Theology of the Old Testament* caused disappointment. It was felt by his former students that he would not have issued it as it has appeared. That one so careful and so stimulating, so devoted to historic method and so diffident about publishing, should have been represented after his death by these uncritically edited writings, was a wrong to a great scholar. Many in America and England who never heard him have wondered after reading these two books why Davidson wielded such a powerful influence over so many fine minds. The wrong has been remedied in some measure by the *Life of Davidson*, issued last year by one of his former students, Dr. James Strahan of Londonderry. He is a typical New College graduate of distinguished attainments and sets the professor in the familiar atmosphere, without shortcomings, for the simple reason that to Dr. Strahan's affectionate gaze they are not manifest. It was most fitting that the great teacher, the elusive retiring scholar, the Scottish Churchman should have been presented to the world in this work of *sacra pietas*, for he can only be truly understood as the devoted son of the Church which it was his primary purpose in life to serve. As a teacher he sought to make expositors of the Old Testament: he did not as a pure investigator aim above all at the advancement of our knowledge of the Semitic peoples through the use of scientific method in study of their languages and literatures. But in the process of making his own students interpreters of the Old Testament to the people of the Free Church of Scotland, and by doing this with consummate success, he produced at the same time several first-class Semitic

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scholars, and thereafter published some of the best pondered results of his own exact learning and long continued thought.

Dr. Davidson was a scholar interested in religious literature. In so far as he may be called a theologian he was an historical theologian. Systematic Theology, Apologetics, Philosophy seem to have made but a moderate appeal to him, and to judge by Dr. Strahan's biography one would say that he took little interest in such problems as engaged his Scottish contemporaries, Flint, Bruce or Fairbairn. To read the *Recollections* of Viscount Morley or the *Correspondence* of Lord Acton at the same time as this *Life of A. B. Davidson*, is to realize how much he lived in his own world, and how sincerely and single-mindedly he abode by his own problems, knowing that through their solution he would do most for those whom he was called to serve. During the period of his activity the roots of the Faith were being unearthed; not only were accretions cleared away by the pioneers of the Critical Method, but the attempt was frequently made to tear up what was vital. In his young manhood the struggle between Science and Faith was waged with acrimony. To recall its intensity one need only mention some of Morley's friends when he was editor of the *Fortnightly Review*—Arnold, Swinburne, Meredith, Huxley, Pater, Lewes, Harrison, Leslie Stephen, Pattison, that school of Liberalism which a generation before had been so intensely feared by Newman. At the opposite extreme was the Oxford Movement and what it led to, when Newman and his associates revolting from the scientific spirit and free discussion took refuge in doctrines and a Church which they thought would protect them from the tempestuous and deadly winds of scepticism. England as distinct from Scotland was profoundly moved by these schools of faith and unbelief, but I think that it is safe to say that the challenge presented by the Method of the Higher Criticism never engaged such widespread attention in England as did either of the

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mutually exclusive spheres of thought just referred to. Of course Higher Criticism was narrower in its range and also was likely to awaken a keener interest in the Protestant churches of Scotland, which based their belief and practice so firmly upon the Scriptures.

Davidson was not a metaphysician delighting in the philosophical aspects of religion, nor does he seem to have followed with especial attention the process by which creeds and modern institutions came into being. He loved an earlier, more concrete, more universally human world than that of Asia Minor and the Greek East in the first three centuries. He was indeed a Churchman, a most devout Churchman, and he satisfied his religious nature with the sacramental services of the Scottish order, but he did not believe in the Church as an historical institution in which the subtle divine essence was preserved and transnitted. The Church was for him the Communion of Saints beginning with Israel and continuing to the present, a living body of men and women who by their faith have kept alive in the world the knowledge of the living God, the Supreme moral Person whose Spirit is imparted to His people in righteousness of life. This Divine nature does not enter into human life as a super-material quickening germ, but through the mind, affection and will, reproducing the moral qualities of the righteous God in those who through faith are receptive. In Davidson's words "God is the sensitive moral spirit of the universe."

Davidson was poetic and intuitive. His mind responded to the quality of the Hebrew mind. His difficulties were not as to the existence of God. He believed in Him too intensely: "The idea of God's existence is one of the primary thoughts of man," and like the psalmists he could say: "I have no good beyond Thee," "As the hart panteth for the water-brooks so panteth my soul after Thee."

I have recently read through again the notes that I took

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of the lectures which he delivered to his senior class in the winter of 1890-91. Three days a week were devoted to the exegesis of passages chiefly from the prophets—Amos, the prophet of righteousness, Hosea, the prophet of love, of selections from the earlier chapters of Isaiah, and of the whole section from the fortieth chapter to the end. The exegesis is minute, but exhibits a sane and temperate judgment which kept him close to historical facts. Frequently he would interpolate an excursus on some general theme, as e.g. *The Unique Character of Prophecy*, or *The Method of Interpretation in Prophecy*, which he regarded as a practical religious phenomenon without much room for the allegorical or the apocalyptic. Those who wish to test his power as an expositor may be referred to his commentaries on Job or Ezekiel. He left on my mind an ineffaceable impression of his faith in the reality of the Divine in the facts of the daily life of the Hebrew people. Jehovah was not far withdrawn nor so distant in His holiness as not to have made Himself known in the history, often commonplace and even sordid, of a people who were by no means ideal in faith or conduct.

It was, however, the course on Biblical Theology given twice a week that was the most memorable portion of his professorial work. On those days the classes were always full, and after the lectures there was usually keen discussion in the dining-hall. Davidson communicated to us an exhilaration that still revives at the recall of that inspiring session. It was a time when one had the sense of adding to one's mental and spiritual stature. The method and problems of the Higher Criticism, which were comparatively new in Scotland, occupied a far larger place in the mind of the educated world than they do today, because the average Churchman still found it hard to reconcile the opinions of Semitic scholars with his traditional conceptions of the Bible. Even among teachers there were few who walked with a sure tread. Some broke their way confidently through the thicket and made no small fuss as they went,

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though they seemed to have no concern whether the branches, which in their strong going they bent aside, swished smartly the faces of the more timid as they swung back. It was not so with Davidson. He was not the venturesome pioneer careless of those who had to follow. He did not choose a path to show his courage and exploring skill; he brought his students along unfamiliar ways, but he was a considerate guide; he pointed out the unsuspected beauties of the path, and every now and again led them after a somewhat stiff climb to an eminence to enjoy with himself a vision of the Divine over an expanse of human life or history. He was much less concerned with the method or route by which he arrived than with the wayside glimpses or the wider sweep. Therefore others as well as I probably were disappointed that at the opening of the course on Old Testament Theology he gave so little attention to the method, history and results of the Higher Criticism. For us this subject so much talked about seemed all important as a new phase of literary and historical study. Possibly we were carried away by the youthful student's desire for information, and were over-anxious to know Davidson's opinions as to the validity of the theories of Wellhausen, Kuenen or Robertson Smith. At any rate he did not satisfy our curiosity. He took a more excellent way, that of the consummate teacher, and outlining the history of the Criticism of the Hexateuch in a mere sketch, he assumed its general results in regard to the composition and dates of the books which he used as sources for his Old Testament Theology. He established the method, apart from this or that personal authority, by the results of his treatment as a whole. He referred us to Wellhausen or Kuenen if we wished to know their views; their theories he did not evaluate nor did he think it necessary to say how much or how little of them he accepted. Though he agreed with them in the main, certainly he called none of them Master, nor was he concerned, as lesser men often were, to prove his judgment

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by substituting a theory of his own in whole or in part. He was never given to quoting from other scholars, though he treated their opinions with respect, but this was not due to any desire to seem independent.

Davidson was interested in the history of the religious ideas of the Hebrew people, in their actual living faith. These people had unique conceptions of God and of righteousness in human life, or at least their prophets, psalmists and wisdom writers had, and Davidson's purpose was to make us understand how the character and work of Jehovah in His relation to His covenant people were set forth in the Old Testament as "a stream of life and ideas broadening as it advances." "God's power might be shown by one act, but His love, justice and righteousness can only be shown by a prolonged period of exhibition."¹ Beginning with Moses he explained how the history of Israel originated with a prophet and was directed throughout its course by prophets, who taught "the great principle that Jehovah is Israel's God, that He is a God of righteousness, to be worshipped in Spirit, that men must do justly and that He has a final purpose." The principle that man's moral life had to be brought under the authority of the Deity was quite independent of critical questions. Such a view as the following was extraordinarily illuminating to a beginner twenty-seven years ago: "Creation in Scripture is a unity of which man is the head. The world has a moral constitution. Behind the physical world is God, the immediateness of whose operations is found throughout the Old Testament. The Hebrews had no knowledge of science and of the essence of science, secondary causes. But do not we ourselves as religious men also, like the Hebrews, find God in immediate relation to us? The real point is the conception under which the steps of creation were brought. The

¹In my quotations the language often bears the traces of swift note-taking and must not always be attributed precisely as it stands to the original lecture.

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facts may be as they may. But under what conception do you bring the facts? Scripture is not careful as to the order of things. This can be left to science. The theism of Scripture is all that is important, and it can never come into conflict with science until it is atheistic."

Or again: "All prophecy is filled with the conception of the incoming of the perfect kingdom of the Lord accompanied by complete regeneration of the minds of His people. Every prophet has perfect general moral and religious conceptions. . . . There is profoundly moral poetry in the idealism of universal peace when the earth is to be filled with the knowledge of the Lord. This is not historical prediction but a moral conception."

His treatment of Immortality in the Old Testament was full of new suggestion: "How could morality exist without belief in future retribution? We relegate retribution to another world. Israel believed that it was fully seen in this world. To our minds the anomalies of Providence bulk more largely than they did to Israel. In all the books of Proverbs there is hardly one complaint regarding the anomalies of Providence. This was due to the very powerful theism of Scripture. God was in all, and all events were immediately His work. This God was righteous and His rule in each event was a rule of righteousness. The physical was a medium of the manifestation of the moral. Sin was punished, righteousness rewarded. The anomaly was that sin was not purged away. But the world might terminate at any time. The Day of the Lord might come in a moment. . . . The manifestation of God was felt to be imminent. Living men might see it. . . . The Israelite had in truth in essence or in idea all those blessings which constitute heaven. He had the presence of God that made up the joy of his life. . . . From excess of religion the belief in a future life was overshadowed." All this is familiar now, for it has become the commonplace of Old Testament theology, but in those days it was most impressive to young students.

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He always seemed to me to expound Isaiah with peculiar pleasure and insight, especially the theme of the Servant of the Lord: "The Servant was never a mere conception. The idea was always verified in Israel to a certain extent. There were always some in Israel who were true to it. The prophet puts the divine creation of Israel by Jehovah first and then finds it more or less verified. He does not idealize the actual Israel, but acknowledges the ideal and in certain classes sees the ideal realized; just as later the conception of the invisible Church comes first."

He found the phenomenon of false prophecy explicable by present experience. The spirit of prophecy was the spirit of the covenant religion of Israel, but the prophet is a solitary, grand figure with supernatural powers, and we think it wonderful how his contemporaries could ever have disobeyed him. But there are the same elements among ourselves. God is still proclaimed with almost prophetic power. The same condition of things was found in Christ's life. It is not God's way to give a revelation which will carry conviction without moral qualities in the mind of the recipient. Revelation is not the disclosing of objective truth, but a broadening of life, and it is received by moral conditions in men and by lack of these conditions it is repelled. In Israel there was a life just like our own. Conduct was not a straight luminous path then any more than it is now. The Hebrews believed that there was a divine voice, but it spoke through men, and there was room to doubt which was Jehovah's: men had to use their moral judgments to decide which was the true prophet."

My reason for giving these few notes is that the transcript of jottings made many years ago may serve to show what ideas appealed to a young student who was being led into a new world. One felt that Davidson was living these thoughts through again with us, that the fundamental conceptions of the prophets were

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the daily food with which he satisfied his own nature. He was so successful an interpreter because his faith was that of the prophet, at once moved by a passion for righteousness and holiness and thoroughly human, full of sympathy with the children of men in their frailties, failures, shortcomings, sins.

There were two of Davidson's lectures which by tradition were waited for by each new class of students, those on Elijah and Saul. Fortunately they have been published and they show some of his finest qualities, his analysis of character, and of the interplay of forces that lead to action, his knowledge of religious psychology, and of the delicate moral shades which either darken into gloom, or clear under obedience to the Divine will. From my notes on Saul I take these sentences: "Pretence was not one of the faults of Saul but rather religious incapacity. He hardly knew what strict obedience to God meant, how minute, exact and verbal it must be, and this same incapacity goes to explain in some measure his madness or mania which had a religious origin. . . . His unquietness must have come from a sense that circumstances around him were wrong. He would do right but he could not. This Kingdom of God was beyond him. He felt his incompetence and the feeling preyed on his mind even to madness. He did not see why he was unsuccessful and he felt profound resentment therefore, and furious jealousy arose when he found that he was to be supplanted. . . . It is a strange scene when after his threat of reprobation Samuel turned again after Saul, and Saul worshipped Jehovah. Samuel had crushed Saul's mind and his first impulse was to break from him, but his better feelings prevailed. . . . But Saul did not wish only to keep up appearances. He was not unnerved by Samuel's denunciation of him. He was strong. He still had duties as well as interests. Moments like this come to many men when they see that they are not going to make that out of life which they had hoped to make. God makes

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plain to us the cause of it and our incapacity for it. Yet surely even then we are not to go moaning through the world. Let us accept our destiny and make the best of life. Something like this is the lesson of the history of Saul—the sorrowfulness of human life, failure conscious of its failure.” These sentences I quote for the purpose of illustrating the human sympathy and understanding that entered into his lectures.

It so happened that I was fortunate enough to attend a course on Old Testament Theology given by Graf von Baudissin at Marburg shortly after hearing Davidson. Baudissin was no mean scholar, though perhaps it is difficult to do justice to him today through the almost impenetrable atmosphere of distrust and dislike that invests all things German. Baudissin was as great a contrast as possible to Davidson, by descent, social standing, and training. He was a German count and in his own house dispensed a stately but kindly hospitality to his students; but not content with that he would invite us to take long tramps with him among the beautiful hills at the foot of which the Lahn winds its way. An almost dapper but certainly highly proper gentleman he was, and a very real man of the world, greatly inquisitive and thoroughly human. He was neither poetic nor mystical; neither wistful nor imaginative; just a well regulated, sensible German without much genius, but a sufficiently good scholar to succeed Dillmann in Berlin. In general I should say that Baudissin was concerned with the substance out of which the Old Testament thought was composed, Davidson with the religious significance and the spirit which gave the glow to the material elements like the light on the carbon. Yet Baudissin had sympathy and a devout nature, and in his treatment of prophecy said things that at times reminded one of Davidson, as, for example: “The speaking of God to the prophet was inward. Not that in each definite moment when the prophets spoke to the people a definite inner message was

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given from God. They had general principles and in definite moments they felt themselves compelled to speak in God's name. They knew (as far as is possible for men) themselves to be one with the Deity in that they could speak in the name of Jehovah and give His mind on the ground that He had spoken to them. We also have knowledge which we hold firmly, general principles which become illuminated in particular moments or which can be applied to some distinct mission. A quite real intercourse may be had with God in our inner life without any external expression of it, as in prayer to which we are convinced we get definite answers. This is an analogy to what may have occurred to the prophets in a much higher degree." But Baudissin lacked the insight, the sensitive humanity, the pathos for frail men, the saintliness, the literary sense of Davidson. Baudissin was one of perhaps half a dozen equally good Old Testament scholars who held chairs at that time in German universities. Davidson was the acknowledged master of half a dozen distinguished pupils and the peer of any Semitic teacher in Britain. My experience under Baudissin heightened if possible my respect for Davidson.

The most pleasant and valuable portions of Dr. Strahan's book are those which describe Davidson's mother, his early struggles, his kindness to his students and his home; but the most moving of all is the chapter entitled "The Human," in which an old college friend tells the story, new probably to all but a few intimates, of his disappointment in marriage, revealing an unsuspected sorrow and the most scrupulous sense of honour, and explaining, I fancy, a good many things in his later life. All sorts of stories were afloat as to the shyness of Davidson and the predicaments into which it brought him on the eve of marriage on more than one occasion. An echo may be heard in the probably fictitious repartee which he is said to have made to a colleague who chaffed him on appearing at the annual college reception with

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two ladies—"Ah! there's safety in numbers." If true it was the glinting sparkle on the placid surface of very deep waters which had been long and profoundly disturbed.

His wit could be keen and caustic. It was reported that one aggravatingly indolent student, who in a state of desperate unpreparedness was flinging out all sorts of impossible forms of the Hebrew verb, was advised with a sigh to turn his attention to the language for even a short time and he would increase the vocabulary to a wonderful extent. Another illogical slipshod piece of work brought forth this rebuke: "Mr. B, you might have left out half of that discourse, and it would not matter which half." There was once a very important personage who, having taken high rank in philosophy at the university, was intending to compete for further graduate honours, and felt that Hebrew and other theological studies ought meantime to be allowed to rest, in fact the opinion prevailed that he believed that his presence in the class-room was a very unusual honour for the college. When he asked Davidson for dispensation the request was readily granted, but then came the sly question with a twinkle in his eye, "Does Hebrew come naturally to you, Mr. X?" Davidson was of too fine a grain, however, to use scorn or sarcasm simply for his own pleasure.

Little need be said about Davidson's published writings, most of which have received long ago the praise of competent Hebrew scholars. As far as I remember, his only important work on the New Testament is his small edition of the Epistle to the Hebrews. It never seemed to me to rank with what he published on the Old Testament. I found it hard to follow in places, and the limitations of the series did not permit him to do himself justice, and yet it was the very book in the New Testament that would attract him with its combination of Old Testament conceptions, its religious idealism and its rich human appeal. I do not doubt that had he allowed himself scope he would

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have produced a great piece of interpretation which might have been compared with what we have in Hort's unfinished work on other epistles.

As might be expected Davidson was a fine preacher for those who delighted in delicate exposition, subtle delineation of character and a quiet but intense faith which led one far into the unseen world. Such hearers, always comparatively few but very appreciative, had to follow him to some small church. His students thought that he had no equal, though it cannot be claimed that the intellectual world of Edinburgh was as much interested in his pulpit ministrations as it had often been in those of more celebrated Scottish preachers. His intimate friend, Taylor Innes, said that he never liked preaching, and that his sermons seemed "suffused and saturated with autobiography." They would therefore be best understood by those who knew him and were moved by admiration for what they had found him to be. But these sermons, created out of his own rich yet simple soul, will not grow old, for they do not reflect the passing style or mood of his age. It is an inestimable privilege to have listened to such a preacher and to have been taught by such a man, of scholarship beyond one's reach, of extraordinary insight and of an utterly sincere faith—a great professor who still speaks in the lives of very many devoted students.

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NUMBER TWO

JUNE
1910

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ALL EDITORIAL COMMUNICATIONS should be addressed to Silas McBee, Editor, THE CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY, 244 Madison Avenue, New York.

ALL BUSINESS COMMUNICATIONS should be addressed to the publishers, George H. Doran Company, 244 Madison Avenue, New York.

Subscriptions from the United States or Canada may be placed through any bookseller or with the publishers direct. Yearly subscription, payable in advance, \$2.50. Single numbers, 75 cents.

Entered as second-class matter, February 26th, 1913, at the post-office, New York, N. Y. under the Act of March 3rd 1879.

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Volume Six. Number Two

POPE BENEDICT XV AND THE RESTORATION OF UNITY

"I am writing these lines in Paris (March 23-25, 1918) with what little of freedom of mind the anxieties of the hour in which we live leave me. This Palm Sunday, in the Cathedral of Notre Dame, we have celebrated the *benedictio palmarum*, and sung the gospel of the Passion as recorded by St. Matthew, while shells from an enemy cannon with a range of more than a hundred kilometers are falling in the city. We can but smile at such a record! And what is this compared to the ruins which cover Belgium, a part of France, Poland and parts of Russia? God is accomplishing His work in the midst of these trials of this old world, which are perhaps the road for the drawing together into one and the same Church those whose hearts have been drawn together by the same trials. God alone can be the effective Worker of union in mind and heart."

By Mgr. Pierre Batiffol, Litt.D., of Paris. 209

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"It was of little moment to which branch of the Holy Catholic Church—the Anglo-Catholic or the Roman Catholic—the two men belonged. That which divided them was small indeed compared with that which united them. Both were Catholic in the

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deepest and widest sense of the term, both were conscious and proud of their membership in the Apostolic and Universal Church—'Patriot citizens of the Kingdom of God'—their zeal for the Church transcended patriotism, it is seen throughout their lives and deeds. Both were staunch believers in religious liberty, and both were possessed of a deep longing for the reunion of Christendom. In all the essentials of our faith they were in sympathy; in fundamentals they were identical."

By Mrs. Mary Drew, to whom were addressed *Acton's Letters to Mary, Daughter of Gladstone* and also *Some Hawarden Letters* 226

THE NEW REALISM AND ITS BEARING ON THEISM

"Theism is essentially a matter of practical life, like belief in the existence of other selves than our own; and it is similarly grounded. Theism takes its departure from facts, and interprets the facts without violence to them; it is therefore a reasoned and reasonable belief. No more is claimed, and no more is needed. Realism, too, must believe a great deal more than it can prove; so here again there is no contradiction between the two systems. Lastly, the theistic view of the world does not break down when confronted with its gravest difficulty, viz., the group of problems concerning finitude and contingency, culminating and summing themselves up in the problem of evil. Evil can be explained, and can be shewn to be compatible with theistic belief, if only we avoid hedonism and playing fast and loose with words. Evil, it has been represented, as a condition or an implication of such a world as ours, according to the theistic view, is and must be. And in so far as realism is prepared to recognize the existence of values, it can scarcely have any substantial demurrer to the theistic hope, or any substantial ground for indulging in anti-theistic fears."

By F. R. Tennant, D.D., Lecturer in Theology and Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, England; Hulsean Lecturer in the University of Cambridge, 1901; University Lecturer in Philosophy of Religion. Among his publications are *The Origin and Propagation of Sin*, *Sources of the Doctrine of the Fall and Original Sin*, *The Being of God in the Light of Physical Science*. . 246

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"Once we envisage organized social life as built upon the extraction, manufacture, and distribution of Nature's gifts of the means of life, the whole capitalist structure of society appears as an altogether irrational disorder, definitely contradicting Christian principles. In this way we are enabled to apprehend more clearly the idea of the rightness or wrongness of systems and institutions. This idea is not always an easy one to grasp

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so long as we approach with individualistic prepossessions in mind; but if we start on the right lines, this idea of the morality of the social order, as something distinguishable from that of individuals, falls naturally and inevitably into place. As we have seen, this is absolutely necessary in the highly complex society of today; for the capitalist system distorts everything, not only industry, but also the meaning of such words and phrases as solidarity, public spirit, the common good, and so on, which we may find ourselves using to justify being partakers in other men's sins through such things as blind obedience to the State or loyalty to a sweating employer, forgetting that Christ, reigning from the tree, issues His royal commands to humanity through the needs of the poor."

By Gilbert Clive Binyon, M.A., Oxford, whose paper on *The Theological Reaction of Social Democratic Ideals* appeared in the March 1918 issue of *THE CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY*.....266

THE CHRIST OF MARK'S GOSPEL

"It is true that in Mark's Gospel we possess a mere sketch of the life and work, person and principles of Jesus. And yet it is also true that in this sketch we have the main features of the Christ of Matthew, Luke and John. These and similar sayings contain an almost complete outline of Christian soteriology and eschatology, and assert the principles of the new life which the Lord taught and exemplified and which His Spirit was to produce in the life of the future Church' (Swete). The marvel of it all is the fact that it is done in such short compass, with such clarity, with such vividness (almost vivacity), and with such power. The stamp of reality is in this story. To be sure, the supernatural is here and Jesus is offered to us as a supernatural Person without apology. But the day is gone when the Gospels can be refused a hearing because of the presence of the supernatural in them. If God exists, it is unhistorical and unscientific to ignore him. The Christ of Mark is the Christ of the believer in all the ages. He asks that his power over the life be put to the test of experience before one decides that he is not the Son of God."

By A. T. Robertson, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Interpretation of the New Testament at the Southern Baptist Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky, since 1895. See the March 1918 issue of *THE CONSTRUCTIVE QUARTERLY* for his article on *Mark's Gospel and the Synoptic Problem*.....281

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and as a passive member of society, in virtue of his personality; and in connexion with this, we shall find a progress in men's ideas of conduct both as regards the individual and society; their conduct will depend on their estimate of personality and that, as already suggested, on their sense of personality in their God. All His relations with men will be interpreted in the light of His personality and its inevitable relation to the personalities of men: they will be felt to be entitled to ask more of Him, and He will be thought likely to do more for them. . . . We shall find that the soul refuses to be satisfied on any level but the very highest, and that, as a German thinker has said, 'man is for nothing so grateful as for the advancement of his spiritual life.' We shall find that man has a firm belief that nothing but the truth will help him, and an undying faith that he will find truth or that it will be revealed to him."

By Terrot Reaveley Glover, Fellow and Classical Lecturer, St. John's College, Cambridge, England; University Lecturer in Ancient History; Wilde Lecturer in Natural and Comparative Religion, Oxford, 1917-1920. Among his publications are: *The Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire*, *Poets and Puritans*, *The Jesus of History, From Pericles to Philip*. 298

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"When one comes into contact with Christ 'virtue goes out of Him.' And when His 'virtue' flows into us, we call Him by the greatest name we know, 'Son of God.' If others, coming from another side, call Him by another name, we will not condemn them, we will give them time to learn by their own experience that no other name so well expresses the deep mystery of His manifestation and His holy love. And I think they will discover that those who know Christ are eager to learn more of His life, whereof the Gospels are the reliable record. . . . What makes a man a Christian is his contact with Christ."

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"We have now seen the possibilities and fruitful results of the spiritual unity of God and man. It is an unification, rather than an identification. . . . It is, as Boutroux puts it, the Beyond that is Within; it is communion between man and God, a communion effected through communicated life. Such life is eternal; and eternal life is spiritual knowledge—"This is life eternal, that they should know Thee, the only true God, and Him whom Thou didst send, even Jesus Christ." Religious experience, says Boutroux, 'cannot guarantee that Beyond as true.' But when, I ask, did Life ever ask for guarantees? It is, and will ever be, its own sponsor, and its own witness."

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By J. R. Fleming, B.D. (Edin.), formerly minister at Bellshill, Scotland, then at Newcastle-on-Tyne, England, author of *The Burning Bush*, the story of the Presbyterian Church in all lands. 363

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"The dazzling ideal which Christ here holds out to His Church would pass belief and comprehension were it not clear that this vision is no mere inaccessible dream. It is regarded by Christ Himself as capable of realization and it is the supreme and final desire of His heart that it should in fact be realized. It is this knowledge that Christ believed that the idea of Union was realizable and that His whole will and desire is on the side of its realization that gives us strength to believe in and labour for Union in the face of so many failures and disillusionings. What Christ believes in and what Christ wants cannot be impossible."

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Harry Emerson Fosdick says: "I know of no other book in existence that puts the matter with such a combination of human interest, simplicity and scholarly reliability."

it has now been restored: *Gentiles* serves as a contrast between those within the religious pale and those outside it. On the other hand, the word *Pagans* has taken an entirely new significance. Fifty years ago it was used interchangeably for heathen: today in its most cultured use it is often employed to designate men of refined tastes, in love with beauty, but irresponsible as regards God. It is true as DeQuincey wrote that "The heavenly truths by their own imperishableness defeat the mortality of languages with which for a moment they are associated." That is no reason why we should be content to sit down and permit those truths to be obscured.

There is probably no lover of the Scriptures who will not always prefer as a foundation of Scripture knowledge, the fine archaic diction of the King James's translators; but there is also no sane man who will not be grateful for all the additional truth which modern scholarship can discover for him in those same Scriptures by new translations. The mere comparing of two versions, rendered from different points of view, will often suggest to the reader's mind something fresh, which neither of those versions actually contained. Those who have read it in the Vulgate must certainly have been struck by it. However eager the mind may be by habit, it cannot help but lose some of its keenness of apprehension when it is forced always to travel along the old verbal grooves which have been familiar from childhood.

These, then, are some of the many reasons why Dr. Moffatt's work should be welcomed and appreciated. He has translated the New Testament exactly as one would render any piece of contemporary Hellenistic prose which had come as a fresh discovery. It may be claimed without fear of dispute that modern scholars are more familiar with oriental thought of two thousand years ago than were the scholars who were responsible for the King James's version. It may also be said that no man can be trusted to dig down to the deeper meanings of the Greek New Testament unless he has previously made himself very familiar with all the extant literary remains of that old Greek world with its mixed tongues, racial prejudices, contradictory ideals, and almost tribal distinctions. Dr. Moffatt is steeped in all such knowledge. He has achieved a very great and remarkable success.

As a point of interest it may be added that there is a distinct gain in having placed in one's hands a modern version of the Gospels which is coloured by the consistency of one mind, working through the whole translation.

THE NEW TRANSLATION will be of important value to the minister in his study work for extricating new meanings from old words by a contrast with old renderings. It will also be of very great service to the minister in the reading of his lessons in passages which require homiletic explanation.

THE NEW TESTAMENT: A NEW TRANSLATION BY JAMES MOFFATT, D.D., D. LITT.

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GEORGE H. DORAN COMPANY :: New York
Publishers in America for HODDER & STOUGHTON



